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Citizenship Education and Civics Competency: a Plausible Intersection of Philosophy and Community

Jeffrey Scott Wilson

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CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION AND CIVICS COMPETENCY: A PLAUSIBLE
INTERSECTION OF PHILOSOPHY AND COMMUNITY

BY

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of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Educational Leadership
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Abstract

The relationship between the philosophical orientation of a high school citizenship education program and the kinds of competencies that students exhibit on a nationally administered civics knowledge assessment was investigated. The researcher imposed a philosophical paradigm of political perfectionism on the citizenship education curriculum in private schools, further imposing a philosophical paradigm of political neutrality on the citizenship education curriculum in public schools. The researcher hypothesized that greater analytical rigor in a philosophically perfectionist citizenship education program would correlate with statistically significant differences between private and public school student performance on the 1998 National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), when students were tasked to evaluate, take, and defend a position. The researcher used data from the twelfth-grade level 1998 NAEP as a baseline subject data set. The results revealed statistically significant differences between public and private school students in terms of question type and difficulty, indicating that students in philosophically perfectionist citizenship education programs performed better than students in philosophically neutral citizenship education programs on harder, more complex questions. However, the results revealed no statistically significant difference between public and private school student performance on the NAEP in terms of question task, indicating that students in philosophically perfectionist citizenship education programs did not evaluate, take, and defend positions significantly better than students in philosophically neutral programs. The researcher recommends further investigation into the relationship between philosophical curricular orientation

and analytical rigor in citizenship education, where philosophically-trained researchers would craft philosophically-oriented assessments using the philosophical constructs of perfectionism and neutrality.

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Citizenship Education and Civics Competency:

A Plausible Intersection of Philosophy and Community

Chapter 1

Introduction

Citizenship education, especially in a pluralist political community such as the United States of America, is better to the extent that it encourages what Paulo Freire calls *subject—subject relationships* (Freire, 1987, p. 4). Authentic subject—subject relationships are only possible between people who see themselves as integrated people, having the “capacity to adapt [themselves] to reality [and possessing] the critical capacity to make choices and transform that reality” (Freire, 1987, p. 4). If people are not subjects in their own minds, they are, in Freire’s words, merely objects, adapting and adjusting to a world in which they are completely “subjected to the choices of others,” living lives that are “a weak form of self-defense” in the face of “external prescriptions” that “dehumanize” the individual within the collective (Freire, 1987, p. 4). Because [our current] “society [is] beginning to move from one [social, cultural, and technological] epoch to another, [citizenship education] requires [now, more than ever,] the development of an especially flexible, critical spirit” (Freire, 1987, p. 7); otherwise, persons-as-objects cannot develop the critical consciousness necessary to thrive in the “historical-cultural ‘tidal wave’” that is the modern world, evolving into persons-as-subjects (Freire, 1987, p. 7).

A recent study sponsored by the British National Foundation for Educational Research enumerates some salient contours of the current dynamic human map facing citizenship educators worldwide:

- (a.) The rapid movement of people within and across national boundaries.
- (b.) A growing recognition of the rights of indigenous peoples and minorities.
- (c.) The collapse of political structures and the growth of new ones.
- (d.) The changing role of women in society.
- (e.) The impact of the global economy and changing patterns of work.
- (f.) The effect of a revolution in information and communications technologies.
- (g.) An increasing global population.
- (h.) The creation of new forms of community. (Lawton et al., 2000, p. 208)

In this milieu, scholars from a variety of disciplinary perspectives have continually affirmed the relationship between active critical thinking and authentic personal autonomy—the foundation of active citizenship (Collins, 2001; Freidman, 2006; Fullan, 2001; Pink, 2006; Toffler, 1972). Citizenship education that fails to develop person-as-subject, then, fails both the individual and the collective in a fundamental way.

Despite the significant worldwide sociocultural variation between countries, there is an empirically verifiable thread of commitment to informed, active, and reflective citizenship based upon freedom, equality, and rationality weaving throughout the community of nations (Arnot & Dillabough, 2000; Halstead & Pike, 2006; Lee & Fouts, 2005; Lawton et al., 2000). Different countries reflect these commitments in different ways, consciously and unconsciously privileging what Heater calls

historical strands of citizenship: classical, liberal, social, national, and multiple (Heater, 1992 in Lee & Fouts, 2000). These strands in turn reflect higher order commitments leaning toward one of two conceptual poles that McLaughlin characterizes as minimal and maximal citizenship (McLaughlin, 1992 in Lee & Fouts, 2000). Therefore, comparing philosophical rubrics for conceptualizing informed, active, and reflective citizenship, and further comparing different normative understandings of freedom, equality, and rationality within those rubrics can at least begin a fruitful dialogue about what citizenship education should be, with the potential to inform educators' understanding of how they might construct and implement citizenship education programs that will maximally enhance students' own conception of themselves as persons-as-subjects, thereby strengthening subject—subject relationships at the individual and collective levels, thus strengthening community. One way to make such comparisons within the United States is to examine the results of nationally administered civics assessments in light of an imposed yet coherent set of philosophical theoretical constructs.

The Statement of the Problem

In this study, the researcher sought to identify and evaluate the relationship between the philosophical orientation of a high school citizenship education program and the kinds of competencies that students exhibit on a nationally administered civics knowledge assessment, seeking to discern if differences in analytical rigor between philosophical perfectionism and philosophical neutrality would be demonstrated through differences in the performance of private and public school students on questions which tasked them to evaluate, take, and defend a position.

Implicit in this research were questions about how to differentiate citizenship education programs in terms of philosophical orientation; how to define and articulate civics competency for study purposes—both quantitatively and qualitatively; how to design quantitative and qualitative rubrics for expressing relationships between kinds of citizenship education and kinds of civics competency; and how the study results might inform the curriculum decisions of education leaders, managers, and policymakers.

Significance of the Study

The study is significant because educated citizens are the foundation of a functioning democracy. Educators in the United States rarely dispute the claim that, as mediators between the individual and the state, schools have some role—perhaps a significant one—in educating for citizenship itself, enabling individuals to consciously, deliberately, and methodically participate in the political, social, and economic processes defining community, while mutually enhancing individual and collective quality of life. Beyond this broad conceptual agreement, however, educators diverge widely in their conceptions of the characteristics, dimensions, and goals of citizenship education policies and programs.

Often, the preferred variable for gauging the effectiveness of citizenship education policies and programs is civic action, broadly defined as an empirical measurement of a person's engagement in the community derived from theoretical rubrics for what kind of activities and interests are “civic” and what constitutes “action” or “engagement.” A plethora of studies have established positive correlations between the level of activity outside the classroom in a citizenship

education program and the students' level of civic action (as cited in Reidel, 2003; Torney & Oppenheim, 1975; Guttman, 1987; Barber & Battistoni, 1993; Battistoni & Hudson, 1997; and Kedrowski, 2003). Hypothetically, such research may suggest, for example, that the best way to enhance the level of volunteerism among high school students is to expose them to the experience of volunteering as part of their citizenship education program. Often, the same research that establishes positive correlations between the students' level of activity outside the classroom in a citizenship education program and the students' actual level of civic action also establishes positive correlations between activity outside class and enhanced student perceptions of the importance of civic action (civic action appreciation), when compared to their perceptions before taking the class.

Citizenship education that is classroom-centered also correlates positively with both civic action levels and civic action appreciation levels in some research (Reidel, 2002). However, the differences in effectiveness—when effectiveness is defined in terms of the students' before-and-after-the-program positive difference in either civic action level or civic action appreciation—between classroom-centered programs and programs that have some level of outside class participation is consistently significant enough to make a researcher wonder how much the program curricular content itself matters.

A review of recent literature suggests that the current American research focus on the relationship between the form of the citizenship education program (classroom or participatory) and the form of the outcome measure (civic action or civic action appreciation) has ignored important theoretical and empirical questions concerning

the substance of citizenship education programs that educators must address in order to give American citizenship education the kind of normative coherence necessary to ensure that our children have the intellectual grounding to perform effectively in the role of citizen in a participatory democracy. Given the importance of critical thinking to personal autonomy and the development of effective subject—subject relationships, the most important substantive question of American citizenship education in this researcher's mind concerns the relationship between the foundational philosophical orientation of a citizenship education program and the substance of the civics competency its students demonstrate on standardized assessments. An empirically established relationship between these two variables, correlating particular philosophical orientation in citizenship education with particular demonstrated expressions of civics competency that in turn demonstrate particular cognitive abilities enhancing personal autonomy and the development of effective subject—subject relationships would have important implications for education leadership, management, and policy concerning ends and means at the federal and state levels.

Ontological commitment to a particular political philosophy concerning the state role in shaping its citizens' values substantively informs one's commitment to a particular philosophy of education, thus informing one's substantive preferences for citizenship education programs. Ideally, one would first consciously commit to either neutrality or perfectionism in political philosophy, then derive maxims for citizenship education that are deliberately nested in the larger concepts. Practically, educators can be unaware of the political philosophy their educational philosophy—which itself

tends to be more theoretically grounded in psychology than philosophy—suggests, potentially resulting in ideologically and empirically fragmented citizenship education programs. The principles and commitments behind the constructs of perfectionism and neutrality in political philosophy each imply substantively different citizenship education programs—an internally consistent philosophy of education manifests awareness of and attention to this theoretical relationship in the curriculum and assessment decisions of practicing educators.

Within a political community, the school is a mediator between the family and the state. Different political communities allow different kinds of mediation. The characteristics and dimensions of the political architecture inform the constitution of the schoolhouse, which in turn informs—perhaps to a greater degree than even the family itself—the conception of the relationship between the individual and the collective in the mind of the individual student. Of the many roles each human person plays, the role of citizen within a political community is certainly one of the most significant, and the one that state-directed schooling is supposed to prepare students for more than any other. Of the many kinds of political communities in the modern world to which the individual simultaneously belongs, the state is currently the nucleus from which all others derive their particular form, even if they originate outside the state and answer (to greater or lesser degrees) to authorities other than the state government when determining membership, defining obligation, and establishing power structures. If schools fail to produce good citizens, then they simultaneously fail to produce good parishioners, team mates, club members, and guild apprentices. Such failure is costly, both to the individuals who perhaps will

never learn why their sense of alienation and estrangement from others seems a permanent fixture of their consciousness, and to the communities which perhaps never learn how to find the root of a pervasive collective melancholy—a “deep spiritual loss” that is perhaps best expressed in the Turkish concept of *huzun*—that seems to resist all efforts, public and private, to erase it (Pamuk, 2006, p. 90).

In the United States, perhaps the most radically pluralist political community that has ever existed—at least in the sense of a functioning democratic pluralism that attempts to define, codify, and pay more than nominal attention to the rights of individuals in its practices—debate concerning citizenship education has reflected the intrinsic dualism in the political philosophy of the Founding Fathers. On the one hand are the neutralists, reflecting both classic and egalitarian strains of liberalism.¹ The neutralist position characterizes the individual *qua* individual as the focus of government attention, privileging personal autonomy as the primary good to be maximized through state-sanctioned activity. Whether natural or created, all persons are assumed to possess rights that individuals morally cede to the collective only through a conscious, deliberate, and methodical process of processes (Walzer, 1977, p. 54). Neutralist political philosophy suggests a state role in citizenship education that emphasizes development of skills that enable self-discovery of fecund conceptions of the good and the right within a broad framework of law that itself maximizes permissibility of free expression and limits proscriptions to those deemed necessary to minimize interference at both the individual and collective level. Norms of justified interference are established in light of the assumption of the primacy of person in place, where the justificatory burden for such interference with personal

autonomy rests with the collective. Schools, then, offer educational programs and policies that mediate the effect of community on personhood, understanding community as a sort of service institution valued to the extent it promotes and defends individual flourishing. The person in a neutralist framework is, above all, an entitled being. A neutrality-based political philosophy advocates no role for the state in promoting particular conceptions of the good. The state—through the institutions within the state, such as schools—serves as a vehicle for individuals to discover conceptions of the good for themselves.

On the other hand are the perfectionists, reflecting a more communitarian position concerning the relationship between the individual and the state. Acknowledging and embracing individual rights, communitarians in many important ways contextualize rights and their expression within a framework emphasizing other-regarding obligation that itself advocates particular conceptions of the good for its citizens and discourages others. Perfectionist educators pre-suppose that personal autonomy is good to the extent that it enhances the ability of individuals to recognize and act in ways that reflect the importance of the relationship between the one and the many in determining personal identity. Rather than looking upon the state primarily as a valve ameliorating the effect of collective pressure on the individual, the perfectionist educational framework places the state as the locus of personal identity. In a perfectionist-oriented school, students learn the justificatory language of individual freedom in a way that acknowledges a conception of the right and the good that is both rationally preferred and promoted by the institutions of the political

community, of which the school is only one. The person in a perfectionist framework is, above all, an obligated being.

There is no reason to suppose that political neutrality and political perfectionism cannot motivate equally strong ideological fervor concerning educational neutrality and educational perfectionism, both emotionally and intellectually. Passionate advocates of both views abound in the history of American educational practice, as both positions can make equally strong claims about the importance of individual engagement in the actual processes of the determination and exercise of state power within a sociopolitical framework that rests for its legitimacy upon an assumption of the individual desire for such engagement. However, it is reasonable to suppose that the specific forms of civics knowledge individual students demonstrate on standardized tests might differ markedly between students who understand and conceptualize the practice of citizenship from the perspective offered in a neutral citizenship educational framework and those whose understanding of citizenship and practice thereof is rooted in a citizenship education framework that is perfectionist in content. Understanding the characteristics and dimensions of empirically measurable differences will enable education policymakers and practitioners to take into account the implications of the differences when debating, designing, and developing citizenship education programs for American students.

One might reasonably hypothesize that a neutralist citizenship education would correlate strongly with a high level of student civics knowledge concerning general concepts of individual flourishing within the context of community, the structure and mechanisms of political community, and details of the public—private distinction as

it manifests itself in a particular setting. Conversely, one might reasonably hypothesize that a perfectionist citizenship education would correlate strongly with a high level of student civics knowledge concerning the more analytical and conceptual aspects of the relationship between the individual and the collective. Since a perfectionist citizenship education grounds the person in an ethic emphasizing the centrality of conscious realization of the intrinsic connectedness between individual identity and particular kind of community—realizing itself in unique, meaningful ways only within that community—one might reasonably hypothesize that there would be a strong correlation between perfectionist-oriented citizenship education programs and a high level of student civics knowledge of how one rationally grounds a preference for one mode of community over another.

In terms of educational psychology, then, one might reasonably hypothesize a correlation between perfectionist-oriented citizenship education programs and students' ability to correctly answer civics test questions at high levels of abstraction on Benjamin Bloom's 1956 taxonomy of educational objectives in the cognitive domain of learning. Bloom's taxonomy is so critical to the discussion of how the philosophical orientation of a citizenship education program might impact students' ability to manifest particular expressions of civics knowledge on nationally administered exams that the researcher deems it necessary to rehearse the categories and definitions within it here. There are a wide variety of secondary sources that discuss Bloom's taxonomy within specific disciplinary contexts. This researcher found University of Washington Professor of Economic Geography Gunter Krumme's account—which links Bloom's categories with "outcome-illustrating

verbs” in a way that is neatly congruent with the NAEP Civics Assessment’s descriptive language concerning type, difficulty, and task conceptualization—most helpful for the present discussion; thus, it is included here (Krumme, 2004). Krumme has devoted his academic career to discovering “how corporate enterprises organize and communicate in space, and how such organizational arrangements and communicative structures are affected by and impact surrounding economic development at local and regional levels” (Krumme, 2004). Similarly, this researcher seeks to discover how political communities might best “organize and communicate” knowledge about citizenship to evolving persons in schools, trying in this research to understand how philosophical “arrangements and communicative structures” within citizenship education programs affect “local” conceptions of citizenship within particular students, and further understand the implications of particular conceptions of citizenship for achieving the ultimate goal of enabling graduates to be active, participative, reflective citizens who conceive of themselves as persons-as-subjects capable of authentic subject—subject relationships. Krumme’s articulation of Bloom’s taxonomy proceeds thus:

1. Knowledge of terminology; specific facts; ways and means of dealing with specifics (conventions, trends, and sequences; classifications and categories; criteria and methodology); universals and abstractions in a field (principles and generalizations, theories and structures): Knowledge is (here) defined as the remembering (recalling) of appropriate, previously learned information.

[Outcome-illustrating verbs include] defines; describes; enumerates; identifies;

lists; matches; names; reads; records; reproduces; selects; states; views.

2. Comprehension: Grasping (understanding) the meaning of informational materials. [Outcome-illustrating verbs include] classifies; cites; converts; describes; discusses; estimates; explains; generalizes; gives examples; makes sense out of; paraphrases; restates (in own words); summarizes; traces; understands.

3. Application: The use of previously learned information in new and concrete situations to solve problems that have single or best answers.

[Outcome-illustrating verbs include] acts; administers; articulates; assesses; charts; collects; computes; constructs; contributes; controls; determines; develops; discovers; establishes; extends; implements; includes; informs; instructs; operationalizes; participates; predicts; prepares; preserves; produces; projects; provides; relates; reports; shows; solves; teaches; transfers; uses; utilizes.

4. Analysis: The breaking down of informational materials into their component parts, examining (and trying to understand the organizational structure of) such information to develop divergent conclusions by identifying motives or causes, making inferences, and/or finding evidence to support generalizations.

[Outcome-illustrating verbs include] breaks down; correlates; diagrams; differentiates; discriminates; distinguishes; focuses; illustrates; infers; limits; outlines; points out; prioritizes; recognizes; separates; subdivides.

5. Synthesis: Creatively or divergently applying prior knowledge and skills to produce a new or original whole. [Outcome-illustrating verbs include] adapts;

anticipates; categorizes; collaborates; combines; communicates; compares; compiles; composes; contrasts; creates; designs; devises; expresses; facilitates; formulates; generates; incorporates; individualizes; initiates; integrates; intervenes; models; modifies; negotiates; plans; progresses; rearranges; reconstructs; reinforces; reorganizes; revises; structures; substitutes; validates.

6. Evaluation: Judging the value of material based on personal values/opinions, resulting in an end product, with a given purpose, without real right or wrong answers. [Outcome-illustrating verbs include] appraises; compares & contrasts; concludes; criticizes; critiques; decides; defends; interprets; judges; justifies; reframes; supports.

(Krumme, 2004)

Definition of Terms

Citizenship Education. Curricula describing methods for understanding the individual's rights and duties in relation to the state, including but not limited to civics, government, social studies, and junior Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) courses.

Civics Competency. A measurement of "how well American youth are being prepared to meet their citizenship responsibilities" (NAEP 98 Framework), comprising civics knowledge, intellectual and participatory skills, and civic dispositions.

Civic Action. Demonstrated behaviors that contribute to the health and welfare of the community. Behaviors that demonstrate responsible citizenship and other-regarding attitudes.

Political Perfectionism. A philosophical position holding that state government ought to inculcate one rationally derived objective conception of the good into its citizens.

Political Neutrality. A philosophical position holding that there is no single rationally derived conception of the good, and that states should be neutral between competing conceptions of the good within the state, allowing maximum opportunity for individual self-determination.

JROTC. Junior Reserve Officer Training Corps. A citizenship education and civic action curriculum sponsored jointly by the U.S. Army and local school districts. Retired officers and non-commissioned officers serve as school faculty members. JROTC courses count toward state-mandated citizenship education.

Research Questions

This study applied four research questions to the problem of identifying and evaluating the relationship between the philosophical orientation of high school citizenship education programs and the kinds of civics competency the students attending those programs manifested on national assessments of civics competency, in order to discern how a particular philosophical orientation in citizenship education correlated with particular kinds of expressions of civics competency.

1. What are the principles behind the constructs of perfectionism and neutrality affecting philosophy of education?
2. How can civics competency be defined and articulated for study purposes in order to discern how a particular philosophical orientation in citizenship education correlates with particular expressions of civics competency?

3. What are the quantitative and qualitative aspects of the rubric for expressing relationships between kinds of citizenship education and kinds of civics competency?
4. How might the study results inform the curriculum decisions of education leaders, managers, and policymakers?

Design of the Study

The research design had two major components: one qualitative, the other quantitative. The qualitative component required the researcher to derive three characterizations from the available empirical data: the characterization of particular citizenship education programs as either philosophically perfectionist or philosophically neutral, the characterization of individual questions on the selected standardized measurement as perfectionist-oriented or neutral-oriented, and the characterization of individual student responses to particular questions as indicative of a correlation between the philosophical orientation of a citizenship education program and the kinds of competencies students in a particular kind of citizenship education program manifest on selected standardized measurements. The quantitative component required the researcher to construct a model for presenting the differences in performance levels within particular competencies between students in perfectionist and neutral citizenship education programs in a way that addressed the research questions.

The study used as its baseline subject data set the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP). NAEP, also known as the Nation's Report Card is "the only nationally representative and continuing assessment of what America's students know and can do in various subject areas" (NAEP November 1999, p. 1). As

such, it was the only place the researcher could locate and access data in the form and substance necessary for testing the research hypothesis that there was a relationship between the philosophical orientation of high school citizenship education programs and the kinds of civics competency the students attending those programs manifested on national assessments of civics competency. As a “congressionally mandated project of the National Center for Education Statistics, [under] the U.S. Department of Education,” (NAEP November 1999, p. 1) its “objective information on student performance” (NAEP November 1999, p. 1) is not only “an integral part of our nation’s evaluation of the conditions and progress of education,” (NAEP November 1999, p. 1), but one of the most rigorously vetted and comprehensive data sets available for assessing student competency in a variety of subject areas. This researcher used the 1998 NAEP Civics Report Card, published in November 1999, for the raw research data.

The NAEP 1998 civics assessment was administered to a sample student population of 21,923 in Grades 4 (5,948 students), 8 (8,212 students), and 12 (7,763 students) (NAEP 1999, p. 11) during the period January to March 1998 (NAEP 1999, p. 127). The sample population was “statistically representative of the entire nation” (NAEP 1999, p. 11), in terms of gender, race/ethnicity, parents’ level of education, region of the country, type of location (urban/rural), free/reduced price lunch program participants, type of school (public and various types of non-public) (NAEP 1999, pp. 12-14). “[T]he assessment consisted of a combination of multiple choice and constructed response (open-ended) questions” (NAEP 1999, p. 20). All participating students received the civics assessment in 25-minute blocks. Fourth-grade students

answered a total of 90 questions (21 requiring constructive response), eighth-grade students answered 151 questions (28 requiring constructive response), and twelfth-grade students answered 152 questions (29 requiring constructive response) (NAEP 1999, p. 126).

The questions assessed students' civics competency in terms of the NAEP Civics Framework, cohering around two core concepts concerning the relationship between the individual and the collective in the United States. "First, the preservation of American constitutional democracy depends upon a well-educated citizenry participating actively in public affairs" (NAEP 1999, p. 21). Second, American schools have a responsibility to prepare students to "meet their citizenship responsibilities" (NAEP 1999, p. 21).

The NAEP civics competency rubric illuminates (along with civics knowledge and civics-related intellectual and participatory skills) "students' knowledge and understanding of the importance of civic dispositions" (NAEP 1999, p. 23). The civics dispositions measured in the framework are five "traits of private and public character essential to the preservation and improvement of American constitutional democracy" (NAEP 1999, p. 22). They are (NAEP 1999, p. 23):

- (a.) Becoming an independent member of society.
- (b.) Assuming the personal, political, and economic responsibilities of a citizen.
- (c.) Respecting individual worth and human dignity.
- (d.) Participating in civic affairs in an informed, thoughtful, and effective manner.
- (e.) Promoting the healthy functioning of American constitutional democracy.

Secondly, along with civics dispositions, the framework measures civics knowledge in five categories (NAEP 1999, p. 22):

- (a.) What are civic life, politics, and government?
- (b.) What are the foundations of the American political system?
- (c.) How does the government established by the Constitution embody the purposes, values, and principles of American democracy?
- (d.) What is the relationship of the United States to other nations and to world affairs?
- (e.) What are the roles of citizens in American democracy?

Finally, the framework measures “three types of intellectual skills” (NAEP 1999, p. 22): identifying and describing; explaining and analyzing; and evaluating, taking and defending positions (NAEP 1999, p. 22).

The researcher did not seek to make “simple causal references related to subgroup performance, to the relative effectiveness of public and non-public schools, or to other educational variables” evident in the data (NAEP 1999, p. 33). Heeding the civics assessment authors’ caution that “[d]ifferences in civics performance may reflect a range of [...] educational factors not discussed” (NAEP 1999, p. 33), the researcher sought within the seams of the data to discover what some of those factors are.

Although the complete raw data set is available only via approval from the U.S. Department of Education, the National Center for Education Statistics makes 105 questions from all three assessed grade levels available in the public domain for research at <http://nces.ed.gov/nationsreportcard/itmrls>. Of the 152-question set in the

twelfth-grade civics assessment, response data from 38 questions (25% of the total) are available within the 105 posted on the Internet. Seven of the 29 constructive response questions (24% of the total twelfth-grade constructive response set) are posted for research. Nineteen percent of the total question set are constructive response (29/152), and 18% of the available question set are constructive response (7/38). Because the researcher used the available data primarily to test qualitative hypotheses about the questions themselves and the philosophical orientation in different types of citizenship education programs, expressing quantitative student response data as a relationship between correct answers to *types* of questions and location in *a particular type* of program, the 38 questions in the public domain are an adequate sample size for this research—the researcher sought to make no claim about either perfectionist or neutral-oriented citizenship education programs based on raw proficiency data reflecting overall proficiency comparisons between public and various non-public school students in the test respondent data writ large. Had the researcher sought broader comparisons, a broader sample size would have been warranted.

Limitations of the Study

There were three major limitations to this study—the first determined by the researcher, and the second two determined by the subject data set. First, the researcher chose from the outset to limit the study to high school students, based upon the fact that high school is the educational level at which citizenship education programs present to students the intricate theoretical foundations of any proposed relationship between the individual and the collective. In high school, people are at a

stage of cognitive development that enables such engagement (Wilson in Pojman, 2007, p. 616). Additionally, high school students are empirically able to act as adult participants in civic action programs and able to engage in sustained reflective activity after their engagement that will inform their understanding of their development as citizens (Flanagan, 1991, pp. 161-180; Rawls, 1999, pp. 402-405). Until high school, citizenship education focuses on the external point of view regarding citizenship, emphasizing the necessity for obeying rules, appreciating the effect of individual action on the community, and accepting punishments for crossing normative legal and moral boundaries. High school citizenship education begins to introduce the internal point of view, through which students recognize that good people do the right thing just because it is the right thing, legally and morally, out of an appreciation of a conception of the intrinsic value of the good. So, even though the subject data set had data from fourth- and eighth-grade civics assessments, the researcher chose not to expand the research to the lower grade levels.

Second, the intriguing question of whether or not particular philosophical orientations in citizenship education correlate with particular kinds of demonstrated civic action after high school beyond any correlation between particular philosophical orientations in citizenship education and particular expressions of civics competency on nationally administered civics assessments taken in high school is beyond the scope of this study, primarily because it is beyond the scope of what the NAEP civics assessment subject data set can reveal. The question certainly merits further investigation by citizenship education researchers, for there are clear implications for

educational leadership, management, and policy in the range of reasonably hypothesized correlations.

One might reasonably hypothesize that a neutralist citizenship education would correlate strongly with a propensity to engage in activity that promotes individual flourishing within the context of community, encouraging minimalist government regulation of the private sphere, rebelling against paternalism in government programs, and emphasizing the need for a robust public—private distinction. Simultaneously, one might reasonably suppose that persons embracing a neutral view of citizenship education would demonstrate their grounding in an ethic of personal conduct that emphasizes conscious realization of the necessity to embrace the responsibility for the consequences of one's own choices along with the exaltation of the opportunity for choice itself, perhaps through robust activity in support of policies and programs designed to minimize collective obligation to help people help themselves.

Conversely, one might reasonably hypothesize that a perfectionist citizenship education would correlate strongly with a propensity to engage in activity that promotes individual obligations toward the collective, further acknowledging the reciprocity of goods that ensue from other-regarding policies and programs. Since a perfectionist citizenship education grounds the person in an ethic emphasizing the centrality of conscious realization of the intrinsic connectedness between individual identity and community—only realizing itself in a meaningful way within community—one might reasonably hypothesize that there would be a strong correlation between perfectionist-oriented citizenship education programs in

community schools and a propensity for the students in those schools to engage in service-oriented activities.

This is not to say that the differences in orientation between a neutralist citizenship education and a perfectionist one correlate with differences in propensity toward or away from selfish behavior in students. There is no strong reason to suppose that educating students in a way that posits individual self-discovery on one's own terms as the focus of the identity relation between the individual and the collective does not make the individual regard self to the exclusion of others in decision-making. Likewise, it is equally unreasonable to suppose correlation between perfectionism and altruism. Both views acknowledge the existence of the morally justifiable individual interest and acknowledge the tension between such interest and that of the collective in decision making. Neutralist citizenship education, while intuitively leaving the question of precedence between self and other more open than perfectionist citizenship education, may not lead the individual to accepting the possibility of genuinely self-less thoughts and actions to any greater degree than its perfectionist rivals.

None of this, however, is measured in the NAEP civics assessment: it is not a tool that can provide researchers empirical data on what students actually do once they leave the classroom that might corroborate the aforementioned intuitions about the effect of particular philosophical orientations in the classroom on particular students. The NAEP civics competency rubric can, though, illuminate (along with civics knowledge and civics-related intellectual and participatory skills) "students' knowledge and understanding of the importance of civic dispositions" (NAEP 1999,

p. 23), which itself might suggest avenues for further longitudinal research into the relationship between levels of knowledge and understanding of particular civic dispositions and kinds of civic action student sample populations take over time.

Third, the NAEP civics assessment response data differentiate between five categories of school: public schools, private schools, Catholic schools, Bureau of Indian Affairs schools, and Department of Defense Dependent Schools. There is no justificatory framework in the NAEP data for the categorization chosen, raising conceptual questions that the researcher had to navigate around by manipulating the data in certain ways, articulated in Chapter 3.

Organization of the Study

The research is presented here in five chapters. Chapter 1 covers introductory themes, outlining the purpose, significance, design, and limitations of the study. Chapter 2 is a review of relevant literature, covering four areas: (a) philosophical studies of political perfectionism; (b) philosophical studies of political neutrality; (c) empirical studies of the impact of sociobiological factors on the ability of education itself to influence behavior, including but not limited to works in moral psychology; and (d) recent empirical studies of the correlation between citizenship education and student outcomes, both behavioral and academic, in and beyond high school. Chapter 3 presents the research design and methodology, articulating the creation of quantitative and qualitative rubrics for analyzing the data set in light of the research questions. Chapter 4 presents the results of the research findings. Finally, Chapter 5 presents conclusions interpreting the results of the study in light of the research's

potential impact on educational leadership, management, and policy, suggesting recommendations for further research.

Summary of Chapter 1

Beginning with the claim that citizenship education is better to the extent it encourages what Paulo Freire calls subject—subject relationships (Freire, 1987, p. 4), the researcher sought to identify and evaluate the relationship between the philosophical orientation of high school citizenship education programs and the kinds of civics competency the students attending those programs manifested on national assessments of civics competency, in order to discern how a particular philosophical orientation in citizenship education correlated with particular kinds of expressions of civics competency. Implicit in this research were questions about how to differentiate citizenship education programs in terms of philosophical orientation, how to define and articulate civics competency for study purposes—both quantitatively and qualitatively, how to design a quantitative and qualitative rubric for expressing relationships between kinds of citizenship education and kinds of civics competency, and how the study results might inform the curriculum decisions of education leaders, managers, and policymakers. Chapter 1 discussed how this study applied four research questions to the problem of identifying and evaluating the relationship between the philosophical orientation of high school citizenship education programs and the kinds of civics competency the students attending those programs manifested on national assessments of civics competency, in order to discern how a particular philosophical orientation in citizenship education correlated with particular kinds of expressions of civics competency. Additionally, Chapter 1 discussed the use of the

1998 NAEP Civics Report Card, published in November 1999, for the raw research data, as well as the basic research design rubric, taking into account the limitations of the data set and the rubric. Most importantly, the researcher argued in Chapter 1 why the study was significant for educational leaders, managers, and policymakers in the United States who are designing and implementing citizenship education curricula at the high school level, thereby revealing a combination of *logos* and *pathos* that highlights an educational *ethos* placing character at the center of community and community at the center of democracy.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

The literature review will include four areas: (a) philosophical studies of political perfectionism; (b) philosophical studies of political neutrality; (c) empirical studies of the impact of sociobiological factors on the ability of education itself to influence behavior, including but not limited to works in moral psychology; and (d) recent empirical studies of the correlation between citizenship education and student outcomes, both behavioral and academic, in and beyond high school.

Philosophical Studies of Political Perfectionism

Western philosophical engagement with the question of state responsibility for citizenship education begins in Plato's work, especially the *Republic*. For Plato, the community is the nucleus of individual personal identity, although his philosophy of education has a partly naturalistic core. Believing that people are born with certain pre-dispositions toward particular modes of human activity, he argues that the state government is responsible for ensuring that the right people are in the right places for maximizing the good of the collective. Plato distinguishes between training, which constitutes learning directed toward particular narrow ends, and education, which, although it can be directed toward particular ends, is valuable as a good in itself. Education as such is a privilege the state rations appropriately to satisfy its needs (O'Hare, 1995, p. 213). Plato's ideal community is neither democratic nor liberal. It functions under the guidance of the guardians—bred and raised communally—who are educated to enhance natural dispositions toward gentleness and ferocity (Plato, 1984, p. 172). Once Plato makes the naturalistically grounded distinctions between

the guardians and the remainder of the population, the *Republic* essentially becomes a treatise on the means and ends of education (Bloom, 1991, p. 350).

The basic dichotomy of guardianship—that the guardians of the state must be simultaneously “gentle towards their own people, but rough towards their enemies” (Plato, 1984, p. 172)—creates the initial impression among the *Republic*’s interlocutors that “a good guardian cannot possibly be” (Plato, 1984, p. 172), for a person whose nature it is to be “both gentle and full of high temper” (Plato, 1984, p. 172), by implication a person able to be educated and trained to apply only the right amount of force toward the right objective for only the right amount of time, is seemingly impossible to find. Socrates, though, observes that creatures other than humans display “natures such as we thought there were not, which have all these opposite things” (Plato, 1984, p. 172). Socrates uses the example of “well-bred dogs,” who possess a “character” allowing them “to be as gentle as can be to those they are used to, those they know, but are opposite to strangers” to show that “we do not go against nature in seeking such a guardian” (Plato, 1984, p. 172).

Well-bred dogs, according to Socrates, possess a “real love of wisdom, enabling them to display “something refined in that feeling in his nature” that allows discernment between friend and foe (Plato, 1984, p. 173). Concluding first that the dog is by nature a “lover of learning if he distinguishes his own and others’ by understanding and ignorance,” and then that “love of learning and love of wisdom are the same thing,” Socrates notes with pleasure that “we can confidently set down the same as true of man also; if he is to be gentle to his own people, whom he knows, he must be a lover of learning and a true lover of wisdom” (Plato, 1984, p. 173).

Ascertaining the basis of guardian character leads Plato to the question of how “guardians [shall] be trained and educated” (Plato, 1984, p. 173). In addition to academic subjects, Socrates recommends “gymnastic for the body and music for the soul” (Plato, 1984, p. 174), translating into the modern education curriculum as a well-balanced blend of physical, moral, and liberal arts education. Minus the naturalism that sets aside many people as uneducable, the basic elements of Western citizenship education philosophy are present in the *Republic*, the most important of which is the notion of moral character.

Moral education dominates the curriculum for Plato, as it does for his greatest student, Aristotle. For both philosophers, good and evil are, respectively, synonymous with beautiful and vulgar, making aesthetic education one with moral (Annas, 1981, p. 83). Together, Plato and Aristotle sow the seeds of modern perfectionism, arguing for a unitary conception of the good based on reason and embodied in the government. While both locate the core of personal identity in the community, Aristotle breaks with his teacher on the essential elements of the state structure. For Plato, community centers around the guardians, and state authority is essentially dictatorial. For Aristotle, friendship is the basis of community, and democracy the essence of government.

In his *Ethics*, Aristotle defines and describes virtue, specifying its role in human flourishing and community well-being. Acknowledging and puzzling through the conflict between emotion and reason, Aristotle constructs an account of personhood that is at once psychological and philosophical, concluding that, since our animal nature pulls us toward the pursuit of vulgar pleasure, the role of community (the state

and the institutions of the state) is to educate the person in the logic of resisting vulgar temptation to the point that the person has intellectually matured to the point where she habitually sees the good as good. (Burnyeat, 1980, p. 86).

The community as a whole participates in the education of citizens. Role modeling is an essential component of Aristotle's character-development model, with state institutions reinforcing virtue and sanctioning vice. He permeates his discussions in both *Ethics* and *Politics* with reminders of how important friendship and love are to human well-being, and he is generally considered to be a father of the modern political philosophy of communitarianism. Problematically, Aristotle echoes Plato's naturalism in his justifications for slavery and exile of those who simply do not fit into the community. However, his dual emphasis on the pursuit of knowledge as an intrinsic good and on the necessity of rationality to a functional citizenry, within a framework that locates individual flourishing within that of the community, remains a foundational element of modern educational philosophy, especially in perfectionist-oriented strains.

Modern political perfectionism, elements of which can be seen in nineteenth and twentieth century philosophers as diverse as Immanuel Kant, Friedrich Nietzsche, and Karl Marx, divides into two major ideological paths, both of which have implications for citizenship education. Philosophical perfectionists claim "that in assessing political and social institutions we must consider the extent to which they promote valuable ways of life and discourage worthless or empty ones" (Wall & Klosko, 2003, p. 16). State perfectionists, on the other hand, claim "that the state should aim to favor valuable ways of life over disvaluable ones" (Wall & Klosko, 2003, p. 16).

A philosophical perfectionist at the state level might claim that community A is a better community than community B because it promotes a more valuable way of life without claiming that the state ought to somehow intervene in community B to encourage it to become more like A (although it is plausible that a philosophical perfectionist could also be a state perfectionist, such a commitment is not necessary to hold philosophical perfectionism as a position). On the other hand, a state perfectionist would argue that the state should encourage (or favor) community A's way of life in some empirically meaningful way, similarly discouraging (or disfavoring) community B's way of life. Conceptually, it is easy to see how federal and state departments of education in the United States utilize both strains of perfectionism in formulating and administering education policy. In Chapter 3, the researcher locates and describes empirical examples of both at work.

Philosophical Studies of Political Neutrality

Modern neutrality, on the other hand, stems from liberal political philosophy since the Enlightenment, emphasizing the individual as the locus of moral and educational discourse and divorcing the state from the individual's pursuit of a conception of the good. Tracing foundational origins to John Locke's theory of natural rights as articulated in his 1690 *Two Treatises of Government*, liberalism exalts the self-determination of the individual, arguing that all legitimate political authority must derive from consent. While political and social philosophers can and do argue over what Locke's distinction between tacit and explicit consent means in terms of justificatory reasons for civil disobedience or revolution, the notion of rational individual interaction with the collective being meaningfully deliberate has

been a significant motivator for philosophers of education since Jean-Jacques Rousseau published *Emile* in 1762. This book can be viewed as an important ideological ancestor of the modern educational theory of constructivism, with its emphasis on the child as creator-discoverer of her own path to inform her understanding of the world and the teacher as facilitator rather than role model or disciplinarian (O'Hare, 1995, p. 215).

The American Founding Fathers embedded the liberal ideals expressed in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights in the American education system, leaving education largely up to the states. Whereas the Founders themselves overwhelmingly embodied views that can reasonably be construed as more perfectionist than neutral, the American people have on the whole judged the value of education in the United States to be more instrumental than normative. In his widely quoted account of his observations while touring the United States in 1832, Alexis de Tocqueville wrote that, since "all Americans have to learn the skills of a profession which demands a period of apprenticeship," "their education ends most often when ours [in Europe] begins," resulting in a polity that does not hold "the labors of the intellect in high esteem" (de Tocqueville, 1835/2003, p. 65). Although de Tocqueville's commentary on apprenticeship seems quaint, until the period after World War Two, a college education here was still a relative rarity. American industrious egalitarianism has in fact privileged action over thinking about taking action, and this guiding rubric certainly influenced the foremost American philosopher of education, the man who more than any other is responsible for the form and substance of the American school

system in the twentieth century and whose influence is still powerful today: John Dewey.

Virtually eliminating the conventional distinctions between training and education, Dewey emphasizes practical problem solving in classrooms emulating the environment outside the school, where students do not “avoid mistakes but [...] have them take place under conditions such that they can be utilized [by the individual] to increase intelligence in the future” (Dewey, 1920/1948, p. 208). For Dewey, the individual and the community are not easily divided, and the process of association itself stands above and between them. Dewey’s penultimate political value is a commitment to radical pluralism, holding that “[e]very combination of human forces that adds its own contribution of value to life has for that reason its own unique and ultimate worth” (Dewey, 1920/1948, p. 204). Democracy succeeds or fails depending on the ability of persons to engage in free debate: in order to prepare persons for their role as participatory citizens, “freeing and perfecting the processes of inquiry” (Dewey, 1927/1954, p. 208) is, therefore, the primary function of a school.

Also an ancestor of modern constructivism, Dewey held that schools should concentrate on “training the child’s power of imagery” rather than on “making the child learn certain things” (Dewey, 1897/1981, p. 451), thus informing modern neutrality in important ways—one of the most important perhaps being an inspiration for theorists of modern intuitionist moral pluralism (such as that described by Gaut in Stratton-Lake, 2002, pp. 137-138). This modern neutrality, like modern perfectionism, breaks down into two major strains, both of them applicable through Dewey’s lens to the philosophy of education. Neutrality of justification holds that the

state “should not aim to do anything to promote any particular conception of the good [...] unless a plausible [value] neutral justification can be given for the state’s action” (Wall & Klosko, 2003, p. 8). Neutrality of effect holds that the state “should not do anything that has the effect—whether intended or not—of promoting any particular conception of the good, or of providing greater assistance to those who pursue it” (Wall & Klosko, 2003, p. 8).

Both conceptions of neutrality demand political pluralism, thus reinforcing pluralist citizenship education in schools. There is nothing *prima facie* wrong with the fact that schools are educating citizens in the first place; however, the rubric for such education has to focus on process and skills, rather than moral or other end states. Perhaps the best known modern conception of political neutrality is John Rawls’ 1971 *A Theory of Justice*. Here, Rawls posits disembodied minds in the “original position” determining what the most rational moral framework would be behind a “veil of ignorance,” behind which they are unaware of any characteristics about themselves as physical beings (gender, race, handicapped, etc.) or about their actual normative commitments (the conceptions of the good they will have when they come out from behind the veil into the world). Rawls offers the argument that, if one does not know one’s status, one cannot rationally favor one status over another for personal gain; therefore, reason will be the only guide (Rawls, 1971/1999, p. 11). Rawls elaborates his contractarian theory in *Justice As Fairness* (2001). Citizenship education programs based upon Rawlsian liberal neutrality might emphasize a kind of empathy and compassion lacking in other—even other value-neutral—conceptions.

Robert Nozick argues for a radically minimalist state in his influential *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* (1974). Articulating a basically libertarian ethos, Nozick focuses on the primacy of individual responsibility for action within a political community that allows radical freedom of choice in determining good to the point where one's obligations to the state approach nothing. Michael Walzer, who taught a seminar with Nozick in the 1970s, offers a position roughly opposed in his 1982 *Spheres of Justice*. Walzer's communitarianism is rooted in an Aristotelian sort of nexus between personal identity and community, and his position, though essentially neutral, contains enough perfectionist elements to make it a good case study for possible intersections between the two views. His 2004 *Politics and Passion* elaborates his concerns with liberalism, articulating communitarian concerns about dilution of individual and group identity in radically liberal theories such as Rawls's.

A seminal work that articulates political neutrality at the global level is Charles Beitz's *Political Theory and International Relations* (1979), which argues for a global egalitarianism that makes states who promote particular parochial conceptions of the good, through education or other means, positively sinister. Samuel Scheffler echoes some of Beitz's pluralist themes in his personal and provocative *Human Morality* (1992). Perhaps the most passionate advocate of human freedom in the twentieth century, though, is Albert Camus. Addressing causes and effects of alienation and the role of the artist as educator, Camus' work contributes to citizenship education in the neutralist tradition. The researcher has been heavily influenced by Camus' views on the necessity for continual, unrepentant self-renewal and perpetual struggle to redefine the nexus between individual and collective through the human mind and the

human heart, especially in *The Rebel* (1951) and his collection of essays entitled *Resistance, Rebellion, and Death* (1960).

Empirical Studies of Sociobiological Impact on Education

In the mid-twentieth century, scientific disciplines—especially psychology and biology—began to encroach on philosophical conceptions of morality and political theory. Significant advances in human understanding of the body—particularly the brain—led scholars and researchers to seriously consider the question of whether or not human ethical behavior and community development were more the product of evolutionary factors and less the product of conscious, deliberate, methodical, rational choice. Modern science seemed in the twentieth century to be validating what Charles Darwin had claimed in the nineteenth. In his 1874 *The Decent of Man*, Darwin argued that “social instincts lead an animal to take pleasure in the society of his fellows, [forming the basis for] a moral sense or conscience” (Darwin in Pojman, 2007, p. 603). This moral sense, then, according to Darwin, leads persons naturally to desire to fit into particular communities of family, clan, nation, and state, to subordinate individual wants and desires to those of his significant others, and to, eventually, extend the concept of community to “all sentient beings” (Darwin in Pojman, 2007, p. 614). Sounding quite Aristotelian, Darwin perhaps reaches many of Aristotle’s perfectionist conclusions about how community political hierarchies create the conditions for modeling and promulgating the virtues; however, where Aristotle leaves open the questions of how particular communities rank particular virtues, Darwin grounds the answer in biological factors that give rise to certain predispositions, which then enable the development of habits.

In 1975, biologist E. O. Wilson published his landmark *Sociobiology*, in which he developed Darwinian themes of inherited moral faculties in light of empirical research. Arguing that “[s]cientists and humanists should consider together the possibility that the time has come for ethics [and, by implication, the ethical questions of political philosophy, such as that of the school’s role in and responsibility for values education] to be removed temporarily from the hands of the philosophers” in order to consider the “genetic evolution of ethics” (Wilson in Pojman, 2007, p. 616), Wilson argues for an “innate moral pluralism,” in which “no single set of standards can be applied to all human populations, let alone all sex-age classes within each population” (Wilson in Pojman, 2007, p. 617). Wilson’s theory posits that the “complex, intricate moral dilemmas” we face are often the result of our trying to politically impose what both our biology and our sociology resist: moral-ethical molding from the outside beyond a very general conception—to the point where one might use his theory to reject the idea of citizenship education in schools at all.

More recently, moral philosophers have become more interested in the impact of biology on morality and politics. In his 1991 *Varieties of Moral Personality*, Owen Flanagan argues for a psychological realism starting from the claim that “loved ones, especially loving parents, provide the grounds for the development of identity, self respect, and interests of any sort [that enable one to realize that] different people are good in very different ways” (Flanagan, 1991, p. x). Psychobiologist Michael S. Gazzaniga, in his 2005 *The Ethical Brain: The Science of Our Moral Dilemmas*, argues for a “brain-based account of moral reasoning” contending that when “someone is willing to act on a moral belief, it is because the emotional part of his or

her brain has become active when considering the moral question at hand [;therefore,] the brain's automatic response may predict our moral response" to given moral dilemmas, thereby rendering the idea that we can teach someone how to respond to such dilemmas much less plausible (Gazzaniga, 2005, p. 167).

In what is perhaps the most comprehensive effort to date to understand the main theories of philosophical perfectionism and neutrality as they apply to political communities in light of the behavioral and medical sciences, Marc Hauser, in his 2006 *Moral Minds*, argues—echoing linguistic philosopher Noam Chomsky's claims from the 1970s—for an understanding of moral decision making based on the acknowledgement that all persons have a moral faculty in the brain from which they derive a moral grammar for understanding and deciding moral questions. According to Hauser and like-minded scholars, there is a limited extent to which these innate factors can be modified from without, perhaps weakening the extent to which citizenship education can have meaningful impact on moral decisions.

The researcher hesitates to grant too much credence to inter-disciplinary theories of behavior that minimize the potential for any educational institution or program to affect the individual's sense of communal identity and obligation. However, this emerging research must be considered before advocating any particular citizenship education program as uniquely insightful, or before interpreting any correlation between particular modes of citizenship education and particular modes of civic action as decisively transferable with high expectations to other communities without accounting for the aforementioned nuances of nature.

Empirical Studies Correlating Citizenship Education and Student Outcomes

A review of recent empirical studies in American education suggests that a significant amount of American education research in citizenship has focused on the relationship between the form of the citizenship education program (classroom or participatory) and the form of the outcome measure (civic action or civic action appreciation), largely ignoring important theoretical and empirical questions concerning the relationship between the substance of citizenship education programs and the substance of the outcome measure. Studies by Reidel, 2003; Torney and Oppenheim, 1975; Guttman, 1987; Barber and Battistoni, 1993; Battistoni and Hudson, 1997; and Kedrowski, 2003 are illustrative of the trend.

Summary of Chapter 2

The literature review covered four areas of inquiry that the researcher deemed appropriate to contextualize the research in this dissertation: (a) philosophical studies of political perfectionism; (b) philosophical studies of political neutrality; (c) empirical studies of the impact of sociobiological factors on the ability of education itself to influence behavior, including but not limited to works in moral psychology; and (d) recent empirical studies of the correlation between citizenship education and student outcomes, both behavioral and academic, in and beyond high school.

Chapter 3

Research Design and Methodology

In this study, the researcher sought to identify and evaluate the relationship between the philosophical orientation of high school citizenship education programs and the kinds of civics competency the students attending those programs manifested on national assessments of civics competency, in order to discern how a particular philosophical orientation in citizenship education correlated with particular kinds of expressions of civics competency. This chapter discusses the methodology of the study, attending to the subject of the study, data collection, research design, and data analysis processes.

Subject of the Study

The National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), also known as the Nation's Report Card is "the only nationally representative and continuing assessment of what America's students know and can do in various subject areas" (NAEP November 1999, p. 1). As such, it was the logical place for the researcher to locate and access data in the form and substance necessary to identify and evaluate the relationship between the philosophical orientation of high school citizenship education programs and the kinds of civics competency the students attending those programs manifested on national assessments of civics competency, in order to discern how a particular philosophical orientation in citizenship education correlated with particular kinds of expressions of civics competency. As a "congressionally mandated project of the National Center for Education Statistics, [under] the U.S. Department of Education," (NAEP November 1999, p. 1) its "objective information

on student performance” (NAEP November 1999, p. 1) is not only “an integral part of our nation’s evaluation of the conditions and progress of education,” (NAEP November 1999, p. 1), but one of the most rigorously vetted and comprehensive data sets available for assessing student competency in a variety of subject areas. This researcher used the 1998 NAEP Civics Report Card, published in November 1999, for the raw research data.

The NAEP 1998 civics assessment was administered to a sample student population of 21,923 in Grades 4 (5,948 students), 8 (8,212 students), and 12 (7,763 students) (NAEP 1999, p. 11) during the period January to March 1998 (NAEP 1999, p. 127). The sample population was “statistically representative of the entire nation” (NAEP 1999, p. 11), in terms of gender, race/ethnicity, parents’ level of education, region of the country, type of location (urban/rural), free/reduced price lunch program participants, and type of school (public and various types of non-public) (NAEP 1999, pp. 12-14). “[T]he assessment consisted of a combination of multiple choice and constructed response (open-ended) questions” (NAEP 1999, p. 20). All participating students received the civics assessment in 25-minute blocks. Fourth-grade students answered a total of 90 questions (21 requiring constructive response), eighth-grade students answered 151 questions (28 requiring constructive response), and twelfth-grade students answered 152 questions (29 requiring constructive response) (NAEP 1999, p. 126).

The questions assessed students’ civics competency in terms of the NAEP Civics Framework, “developed for the National Assessment Governing Board (NAGB) through a national consensus process conducted by the Council of Chief State School

Officers in conjunction with the Center for Civics Education and the American Institutes for Research” (NAEP 1999, pp. 20-21). Benefiting “from the input of many and diverse perspectives [, from] education and policy organizations, business, government educators, scholars, students, and the general public” (NAEP 1999, p. 21) the NAEP Civics Framework coheres around two core concepts concerning the relationship between the individual and the collective in the United States. “First, the preservation of American constitutional democracy depends upon a well-educated citizenry participating actively in public affairs” (NAEP 1999, p. 21). Second, American schools have a responsibility to prepare students to “meet their citizenship responsibilities” (NAEP 1999, p. 21). Although schools are only one place where students are socialized, and the radically pluralist American sociocultural landscape reflects the intent of the Founding Fathers as expressed in the Constitution to make education essentially a local matter, the school provides most American children their most comprehensive framework for intellectually understanding civil society in a way that will motivate them to civic action as participatory citizens.

The NAEP civics competency rubric illuminates (along with civics knowledge and civics-related intellectual and participatory skills) “students’ knowledge and understanding of the importance of civic dispositions” (NAEP 1999, p. 23), which itself might suggest avenues for further longitudinal research into the relationship between levels of knowledge and understanding of particular civic dispositions and kinds of civic action student sample populations take over time. The civics dispositions measured in the framework are five “traits of private and public character

essential to the preservation and improvement of American constitutional democracy”

(NAEP 1999, p. 22). They are (NAEP 1999, p. 23)

- (a.) Becoming an independent member of society.
- (b.) Assuming the personal, political, and economic responsibilities of a citizen.
- (c.) Respecting individual worth and human dignity.
- (d.) Participating in civic affairs in an informed, thoughtful, and effective manner.
- (e.) Promoting the healthy functioning of American constitutional democracy.

Secondly, along with civics dispositions, the framework measures civics knowledge in five categories (NAEP 1999, p. 22):

- (a.) What are civic life, politics, and government?
- (b.) What are the foundations of the American political system?
- (c.) How does the government established by the Constitution embody the purposes, values, and principles of American democracy?
- (d.) What is the relationship of the United States to other nations and to world affairs?
- (e.) What are the roles of citizens in American democracy?

Finally, the framework measures “three types of intellectual skills” (NAEP 1999, p. 22): identifying and describing; explaining and analyzing; and evaluating, taking and defending positions (NAEP 1999, p. 22).

Although not directly relevant to this study, it is noteworthy that the 1998 NAEP civics assessment was the first to use the achievement level rubric for distinguishing Basic, Proficient, and Advanced levels of student competency that the NAEP Board

had been using in other subject assessments since 1990 (NAEP 1999, p. 28). The NAEP “civics scale ranges from 0 to 300, and the national average at each grade is 150” (NAEP 1999, p. 35). For fourth-grade students, the numerical levels in the 1998 assessment are 136 (Basic), 177 (Proficient), and 215 (Advanced) (NAEP 1999, p. 37). For eighth-grade students, the numerical levels are 134 (Basic), 178 (Proficient), and 213 (Advanced) (NAEP 1999, p. 38). For twelfth-grade students, the numerical levels are 139 (Basic), 174 (Proficient), and 204 (Advanced) (NAEP 1999, p. 38).

Data Collection

Although the complete raw data set is available only via approval from the U.S. Department of Education, the National Center for Education Statistics makes 105 questions from all three assessed grade levels available in the public domain for research at <http://nces.ed.gov/nationsreportcard/itmrls>. Of the 152-question set in the twelfth-grade civics assessment, response data from 38 questions (25% of the total) are available within the 105 posted on the Internet. Seven of the 29 constructive response questions (24% of the total twelfth-grade constructive response set) are posted for research. Nineteen percent of the total question set are constructive response (29/152), and 18% of the available question set are constructive response (7/38). The remainder of the questions are multiple choice response.

Because the researcher used the available data primarily to test qualitative hypotheses about the questions themselves and the philosophical orientation in different types of citizenship education programs, expressing quantitative student response data as a relationship between correct answers to *types* of questions and location in a *particular type* of program, the 38 questions in the public domain are an

adequate sample size for this research—the researcher sought to make no claim about either perfectionist or neutral-oriented citizenship education programs based on raw proficiency data reflecting overall proficiency comparisons between public and various non-public school students in the test respondent data writ large. Had the researcher sought broader comparisons, a broader sample size would have been warranted. The researcher did not know at the outset of the research how many questions out of the 152 in the total set could be characterized as either perfectionist or neutral, but this limitation is not significant because the researcher did not seek to test any claims about the data set as a whole. The researcher did not seek to make “simple causal references related to subgroup performance, to the relative [overall] effectiveness of public and non-public schools, or to other educational variables” evident in the data (NAEP 1999, p. 33). Heeding the civics assessment authors’ caution that “[d]ifferences in civics performance may reflect a range of [...] educational factors not discussed” (NAEP 1999, p. 33), the researcher sought within the seams of the data to discover what some of those factors might be.

Research Design

The research design had two major components, one qualitative, the other quantitative. The qualitative component required the researcher to derive three characterizations from the available empirical data: the characterization of particular citizenship education programs as either philosophically perfectionist or philosophically neutral, the characterization of individual questions on the selected standardized measurement as perfectionist-oriented or neutral-oriented, and the characterization of individual student responses to particular questions as indicative

of a correlation between the philosophical orientation of a citizenship education program and the kinds of competencies students in a particular kind of program manifest on selected standardized measurements. The quantitative component required the researcher to construct a model for presenting the differences in performance levels within particular competencies between students in perfectionist and neutral citizenship education programs in a way that addressed the research questions.

This study applied four research questions to the problem of identifying and evaluating the relationship between the philosophical orientation of high school citizenship education programs and the kinds of civics competency the students attending those programs manifested on national assessments of civics competency, in order to discern how a particular philosophical orientation in citizenship education correlated with particular kinds of expressions of civics competency.

1. What are the principles behind the constructs of perfectionism and neutrality affecting philosophy of education?
2. How can civics competency be defined and articulated for study purposes in order to discern how a particular philosophical orientation in citizenship education correlates with particular expressions of civics competency?
3. What are the quantitative and qualitative aspects of the rubric for expressing relationships between kinds of citizenship education and kinds of civics competency?
4. How might the study results inform the curriculum decisions of education leaders, managers, and policymakers?

In order to answer Research Question 1 (What are the principles behind the constructs of perfectionism and neutrality affecting philosophy of education?), the researcher characterized public high school citizenship education programs as philosophically neutral and non-public citizenship education programs as philosophically perfectionist. While both public and non-public high schools deliver citizenship education that provides civics knowledge, develops civics-related intellectual and participatory skills, and inculcates “students’ knowledge and understanding of the importance of civic dispositions” (NAEP 1999, p. 23), non-public high schools also have as an intrinsic component of their mission a desire to motivate students to demonstrate preferences for one mode of citizenship over another, rather than neutrally (merely) recognizing and respecting that there are different—and perhaps equally fruitful—ways of understanding the relationship between the individual and the collective in the radically pluralist United States. Such a mission to motivate is *prima facie* perfectionist, and this perfectionism can manifest itself in many ways, depending on the foundational ethic of the school (religious, military, etc.).

Distinctions between perfectionism and neutrality in citizenship education are evident in the way that particular high schools describe their citizenship orientation in their official statements of purpose in the public domain. A brief examination of data from three different high schools in New York’s Hudson Valley—all subject to the same state regulatory framework for minimum required curriculum, all within a 25-mile radius, and all providing citizenship education programs as a part of the required core curriculum—illustrate how the values-education component of a particular

curriculum can be representative of either a perfectionist or a neutralist philosophical grounding, as defined by the researcher.

James I. O'Neill High School is a public high school in Highland Falls, New York. The approximately 500 students at O'Neill must take two two-semester courses in Global History, one two-semester course in U.S. History, one semester of economic theory, and a one-semester course in civic values that emphasizes the individual person's responsibility to be an informed participant in debates about social issues. O'Neill has a JROTC program whose courses count as electives but do not replace the civic values course, even though the JROTC program curriculum strongly emphasizes citizenship and character (hffmcsd.org). This might seem odd, until one analyzes how O'Neill's citizenship education curriculum exemplifies the philosophically neutral stance in American public education writ large.

The capstone course in O'Neill citizenship education curriculum is a required course entitled "Civic Values" which the student normally takes as a Junior or Senior after completing the other aforementioned courses in history, government, and economics (hffmcsd.org). The course description characterizes the "major topics of study [as]: the rights and responsibilities of citizenship; the workings of the legal system; political parties; community service; and practical understanding and applications of the Constitution" (hffmcsd.org).

The course content succinctly epitomizes what philosopher John Rawls describes as a conception of neutrality of aim, consistent with his conception of justice as fairness—itself the cornerstone of his political liberalism: "[a]s a political conception for the basic structure justice as fairness as a whole tries to provide common ground

as the focus of an overlapping consensus (Rawls, 1993, in Wall & Klosko, 2003, p. 70). Consistent with Rawls's view of what constitutes justice in a liberal democracy, the O'Neill "Civic Values" course "hopes to articulate a public basis of justification for the basic structure of a constitutional regime working from fundamental intuitive ideas implicit in the public political culture and abstracting from comprehensive religious, philosophical, and moral doctrines" (Rawls, 1993, in Wall & Klosko, 2003, p. 69).

Of course, the political and social structures of the United States of America are not now designed to work toward Rawls's conceptions of justice as fairness or political liberalism; however, the O'Neill "Civic Values" course, in what it does and does not purport to offer the student, does illustrate how the current American version of pluralist political liberalism is consonant with at least some of Rawls's ideal conception of political neutrality. If, as Rawls recommends, liberal political neutrality in an ideal form would "ask that children's education include such things as knowledge of their constitutional and civic rights so that, for example, they know that liberty of conscience exists in their society and that apostasy is not a legal crime, all this to ensure that their continued membership when they come of age is not based simply on ignorance of their basic rights" (Rawls, 1993, in Wall & Klosko, 2003, p. 73), then the O'Neill example illustrates one way U.S. public schools can, at least, manifest intent to be congruent with some ideal liberal goals as Rawls conceives them. His is not the only such conception, but its elegance in clarity and coherence makes Rawls's political liberalism an effective paradigmatic example of what commitment to political neutrality might look like, especially in view of the fact that

his ideal rubric for political neutrality is empirically consistent with much of the American Constitutional framework for justice that itself, like Rawls's political liberalism, de-couples commitment to "a political conception of justice" from commitment to some specific and shared larger "ideals of the good" (Rawls, 1993, in Wall & Klosko, 2003, p. 71).

Allowing individuals to choose their own conceptions of the good within a shared general framework of just and fair political institutions is one of the cornerstones of the American republic. In 1831, Alexis de Tocqueville observed that the American Union was one in which "several peoples are fused into one nation with regard to certain shared interests, while remaining as separate confederates for all else" (De Tocqueville, 2003, p. 184). For de Tocqueville, the American republic was "strictly neither national nor federal" (De Tocqueville, 2003, p. 185), where "Congress regulates [only] the main features of social behavior; [delegating details] to provincial legislatures" (De Tocqueville, 2003, p. 189). Though perhaps overstating the respect for pluralism inherent in the spirit of the nascent United States, de Tocqueville writes as if he sees America as embodying Aristotle's virtuous mean, where because "nothing needs to gather at a common center, there are neither great capital cities, nor inordinate wealth, nor extreme poverty, nor sudden revolutions...[further,] [p]olitical passions, instead of spreading instantly like wildfire over the whole country, crash against the individual concerns and passions of each state" (De Tocqueville, 2003, p. 191).

When de Tocqueville notes how, in the United States, the "sovereignty of the Union affects men only where a few major interests are concerned; [representing] a

vague, ill-defined sentiment [that allows the] sovereignty of the states [to enfold] every citizen...[and affect] every detail of daily life [relying for its normative force upon] memory, habits, local prejudices, [and] the self interest of district and family” (De Tocqueville, 2003, p. 196), he presents an America that by and large still exists today—one that in fact lives up to key Rawlsian ideals of political liberalism, despite the fact that there has been no conscious design to do so:

[I]deas of the good may be freely introduced as needed to complement the political conception of justice, so long as they are political ideas, that is, so long as they belong to a reasonable political conception of justice for a constitutional regime. This allows us to assume that they are shared by citizens and do not depend on any particular comprehensive doctrine. Since the ideals connected with the political virtues are tied to the principles of political justice and to the forms of judgment and conduct essential to sustain fair social cooperation over time, those ideals and virtues are compatible with political liberalism. They characterize the ideal of a good citizen of a democratic state—a role specified by its political institutions. In this way the political virtues must be distinguished from the virtues that characterize ways of life belonging to comprehensive religious and philosophical doctrines, as well as from the virtues falling under various associational ideals (the ideals of churches and universities, occupations and vocations, club and teams) and of those appropriate to roles in family life and to the relations between individuals.

(Rawls, 1993, in Wall & Klosko, 2003, p. 71)

So, the O'Neill High School "Civic Values" class example illustrates one way that governmental institutions in a pluralist political community can take "certain steps to strengthen the virtues of toleration and mutual trust...(in ways consistent with liberty of conscience and freedom of speech)...[that further] strengthen the forms of thought and feeling that sustain fair social cooperation between...citizens [who are regarded by the government as] free and equal [in a state that does not advance] a particular comprehensive doctrine in its own name" (Rawls, 1993, in Wall & Klosko, 2003, p. 71). The fact that O'Neill High School also hosts a Junior Reserve Army Training Corps (JROTC) unit, headed by a retired U.S. Army officer and partly funded by the U.S. Army, which in its elective courses promotes a form of political perfectionism recognizing a commitment to belief in a deity and advocating commitment to a particular understanding of the "American way of life" (<http://www.hffmcsd.org/oneill/jrotc>), is perhaps a poignant manifestation of how a commitment to political neutrality can exemplify a level of "toleration and mutual trust" that Rawls would applaud. This research, however, presses an examination of what even de Tocqueville admits is a weakness in the American system, committed as it is to political neutrality in public education: our democracy "rests...upon a complicated theory which, in application, demands a daily exercise of rationality from its citizens" (De Tocqueville, 2003, p. 193). There are reasons to believe that politically perfectionist citizenship education programs—of which two examples are discussed next—better prepare critical thinkers than politically neutral ones, thereby perhaps better preparing persons to think of themselves as persons-as-subjects, active

citizens, and participants in authentic subject—subject relationships that strengthen the political community writ large.

Burke Catholic High School is located in Goshen, New York. Open since December 1964, Burke enrolls approximately 600 students from a religiously diverse population drawn “from 22 districts and 40 grade schools in Orange and Sullivan counties” (burkecatholic.org). All students must take a sequence of four two-semester courses in Religion, referred to as Religion 9 (centered on the Old Testament), 10 (Christology), 11 (Church history, focusing on the New Testament), and 12 (Catholic teaching on human relationships and world religions) (burkecatholic.org). In addition to two two-semester courses in Global History, a two-semester course in U.S. History and Government, and a one-semester course in economic theory, all students must take a one-semester course entitled Participation in Government, which “emphasizes the relationship and interaction between citizens and government” (burkecatholic.org). The course includes a Participation in Government Research Project, which requires the student to use hard data and surveys to research a “single public policy issue from several critical angles” (burkecatholic.org).

The philosophical perfectionism of Burke’s mission centers around “assist[ing] young men and women in their formation as mature, knowledgeable, articulate and caring Christians, a mission pursued in a safe educational environment that reflects the teachings of Jesus Christ” (burkecatholic.org). The school motto—“Not Words But Deeds”—reflects an action-oriented emphasis on living a consciously preferred way of life, after thoughtful exposure to a plethora of possible paths (burkecatholic.org) through the four-year religious studies sequence. The ninth- and

tenth-grade religion courses place heavy emphasis on understanding key texts in historical context, exploring “the political and religious world of Jesus...[and the historical evolution of] Christological doctrine” (burkecatholic.org). At the eleventh-grade level, students encounter “discussion of issues of Catholic Social Justice [as they wrestle more deeply with] the meaning of participation in God’s own divine life” (burkecatholic.org). Honors students undertake a special study of the “role of Elizabeth Ann Seton in American church history [and read Thomas More’s] *A Man for All Seasons*”(burkecatholic.org). In the twelfth-grade class in world religion, all students “study the tenets of the great religions of the world [in order to encourage students to engage in] promoting and fostering community among peoples” (burkecatholic.org). Interestingly, the Catholic perfectionism reinforces intuitions about the intrinsic value of rigorous analytical examination of beliefs different from one’s own, noting in language that implies logical necessity that “[b]y learning the vocabulary and symbols of other religions, students will further enrich their own religions practices and find great stability in their own Catholic faith” (burkecatholic.org). Empirically, it is obvious that such rigorous dialectic with other faiths could lead a person to renounce his or her own in favor of another; however, the Burke commitment to analytical discourse, confidently expressed in language suggesting that the more one knows about other faiths, the more reasons one will have to appreciate Catholicism, may reveal something philosophically beautiful about perfectionism writ large—namely, that it advocates commitment itself and recognizes an educational obligation to equip students with the analytical tools to ground their commitments consciously in reason.

Burke Catholic High School's curriculum extends a welcoming hand to its religiously diverse student body, giving voice to what Seton Hall University calls the "Catholic Mission...a call to action and a commitment to building a life that is both faithful to the past...and open to the future...[d]eveloping leaders in Mind, Heart, and Spirit [who can, no matter what their faith, embrace] the Catholic ideals and values we will share [with everyone; which, in turn, enable all people to] feel good about who [they] are and [their] ability to make a real difference in the community" (www.shu.edu/catholic-mission). The Catholic perfectionism exemplified at Burke, understood here with the assistance of some philosophical framing from Seton Hall University, is non-threatening—both exclusive and inclusive at the same time—implying that the key to membership (in the Catholic Church; in a relationship with another person; in a meaningful, purposeful life; in community itself) is conscious choice. Military schools advocate a kind of perfectionism similar to religious schools, in that military schools emphasize conscious rational commitment as the cornerstone of a meaningful life; however, military school perfectionism is exclusive in ways that may encourage students to segregate themselves from, rather than integrate themselves into, the larger political community.

New York Military Academy (NYMA) is a private college preparatory school (Grades 7-12) in Cornwall-on-Hudson, New York. With a 117-year history, NYMA emphasizes "character development, leadership training, and academic excellence...in a structured and disciplined environment that is both physically and morally healthy" (nyma.org). In addition to a four-year sequence of JROTC leadership classes, all NYMA cadets must take two two-semester sequences of Global

Studies, one two-semester U.S. History course, a one-semester economic theory course, and a one-semester citizenship education course entitled Participation in Government. The Social Studies Department is committed to “understand the meaning of the Constitution as a social contract that defines our democratic government and guarantees our individual rights” (nyma.org). Mr. Stephen Pendley, Department Chair, writes in a letter to prospective students that “[w]e want students to see the connection between ideas and behavior, between the values and ideals that people hold and the ethical consequences of those beliefs” (nyma.org). The NYMA Character Development Program emphasizes “Six Pillars of Character: Trustworthiness, Respect, Responsibility, Fairness, Caring, and Citizenship” (nyma.org).

While on the one hand NYMA’s emphasis on citizenship itself as a pillar of character development, and its coupling of citizenship with each of the other pillars in the character education classes (citizenship/trustworthiness, for example), suggest an advocacy of community integration for the individual, the school’s motto—“Set Apart for Excellence”—seems to encourage a kind of elitism that permeates through the school’s descriptions of its athletic, academic, and character-development programs (nyma.org). For example, the school’s claim that “[o]ne important quality which all successful people share is proper manners and social behavior” suggests that social courtesy is a mere means to an end (success itself, seemingly defined here as the ability to stand apart from others in a variety of ways that signal one as somehow a better person) (nyma.org). The school advertisements emphasize how NYMA cadets have qualities that “set them apart from peers at both private and

public secondary schools” and are learning how to be leaders who can motivate “people to do things they don’t necessarily want to do” (nyma.org). Whereas rational choice is clearly an important element in internalizing the character virtues NYMA advocates, the school’s implied advocacy of the idea that the NYMA graduate is more holistically excellent—especially in the moral sphere—than others in the community, and thereby in some way deserving of the various kinds of power “successful” people hold within a political community, it is easy to read NYMA’s message to the prospective student as curiously unenlightened and negatively self-centered. This potential slide into advocacy of a kind of elitism that can be detrimental or even destructive to community is a danger that must be considered by any advocate of philosophical perfectionism in citizenship education in a pluralist democracy.

Given the relative ease with which one can clearly apply the theoretical constructs of philosophical perfectionism and neutrality to the schools discussed thus far, one might wonder whether all schools within the overall empirical classifications of “public” and “private” can be as neatly compartmentalized philosophically. Interestingly, the researcher discovered particular schools—and, therefore, kinds of schools—to which the rubrics of philosophical perfectionism and philosophical neutrality fit less obviously than in the preceding three clearly delineated examples (where the curriculum readily exemplifies tenets of either perfectionism or neutrality once those tenets are themselves delineated), raising the possibility that there are other kinds of schools to which neither philosophical rubric applies perfectly, and further requiring the researcher to acknowledge what might be called limit cases that stretch—but do not snap—the philosophical rubrics’ theoretical coherence. Whereas

the schools in question clearly fit into one of the five empirical classifications within the NAEP data set (public schools, private schools, Catholic schools, Bureau of Indian Affairs schools, and Department of Defense Dependent Schools), their mission statements create dissonance in the researcher's philosophical model and raise thought-provoking questions meriting further study.

The Maclay School in Tallahassee, Florida, is an example of a school that promotes a non-military, non-sectarian perfectionism that is perhaps best described as a kind of Aristotelian holistic quest for eudaimonia. Maclay seeks to enable "each student to develop inherent ability to the fullest extent with a balance of discipline and freedom" (Maclay profile). Maclay's stated commitment to "create a civilized community of learning guided by a dedicated faculty of superior qualifications" [and further] "engender[ing] by teaching and example self-discipline, hard work, integrity, and persistence at school and at home" is certainly a kind of perfectionism—albeit one that almost seems neutral. The school's philosophy is itself philosophically multi-layered, its self-imposed goal of "prepar[ing] well-balanced students able to meet the future challenges of higher education, service to others, and life, with wisdom and fortitude" evoking a splendid combination of the highest-order physical and moral virtues (Maclay profile). Clearly, the students are challenged to choose a particular way of imagining their relationship as individuals to the community, but instead of a relationship that centers around a common conception of a deity or a community service organization (such as the military), Maclay seems to ask its students to live lives exemplifying what amounts to the intrinsic beauty of the Aristotelian mean.

Such a goal is admirable, and such preparation difficult, especially in today's increasingly materialistic and selfish social climate. Such a goal is also harder to characterize as perfectionism, de-coupled as it is from overt ties to particular political or social institutions in favor of a more esoteric notion of community; however, the Maclay commitments are clearly *oriented* in a way that, say, O'Neill's are not. Maclay and other such independent schools highlight the range of perfectionisms available for institutionalizing—down to the level of the individual family. In an educational landscape where school choice initiatives are successfully widening the range of options for non-public schooling, it may be increasingly difficult for parents to discern the layers of perfectionism inherent in the multiplicity of independent venues, including charter schools. Although it is plausible that home-schooling parents could advocate an explicitly neutral curricular stance toward citizenship education, one might argue that the fact that the parent has chosen to home school at all is itself an implicit advocacy of a kind of perfectionism—at least in terms of the public—private distinction as it pertains to education.

Further, the fact that the NAEP civics assessment response data differentiate between five particular categories of school without justifying these particular choices creates three conceptual questions that the researcher had to navigate around by hypothesizing reasonable answers consonant with the known facts of the NAEP assessment and manipulating the NAEP data within the research model: Why are private schools distinguished from Catholic schools, when both are non-public schools? Why do Catholic schools merit a separate category for NAEP, when other types of religious school do not? In what category (public or private) should one

place Bureau of Indian Affairs schools and Department of Defense Dependent Schools?

To the first question (Why are private schools distinguished from Catholic schools, when both are non-public schools?), the researcher hypothesized that the NAEP analysts are merely recognizing the plethora of relevant differences between religious schools and other types of non-public schools in the form and substance of the curriculum. Philosophically, the researcher acknowledges the unique kinds of perfectionism that religious schools advocate, but denotes no significance (statistical or conceptual) to any empirical differences between student response data in the NAEP categories of private and Catholic schools, distinguishing both from public schools for comparisons upon which to draw conclusions to address the research questions.

To the second question (Why do Catholic schools merit a separate category for NAEP, when other types of religious school do not?), the researcher hypothesized that the relatively small number and relatively wide geographical dispersion of non-Catholic religious schools made the quantity of student response data from such schools, even if combined, too small to matter statistically in the NAEP analysis. Further, the number of religious denominations in the United States offering unique schooling environments might reasonably have militated against any NAEP attempt to depict them separately in the data.

To the third question (In what category (public or private) should Bureau of Indian Affairs schools and Department of Defense Dependent Schools fall into?), the researcher decided to conceptually categorize them with public schools as

philosophically neutral, finding the question philosophically relevant despite the fact that the amount of student response data from these types of schools in the NAEP data set is so small that no numerical data are depicted for them, and they do not directly impact this research study.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs schools and Department of Defense Dependent Schools are the only two American school systems in which “the federal government has direct responsibility [for educating] elementary and secondary students” (GAO-01-934, p. 1). The approximately two hundred Department of Defense Dependent Schools, most located outside the continental United States, serve “the children of military and civilian DOD personnel” (GAO-01-934, p. 5). Their educational mission is essentially the same as any public school in the United States and does not suggest advocacy of any type of philosophical perfectionism. Bureau of Indian Affairs schools, operating since 1794, provide “education services for Indian children” in and around Indian reservations, even though individual states “currently provide schooling for the majority of Indian elementary and secondary students” (GAO-01-934, p. 11). Although, like the DOD schools, the one hundred eighty five BIA schools are de facto philosophically neutral at the elementary and secondary levels (and would be classified with public schools if their data appeared in the NAEP material and could be factored into this researcher’s work), there are philosophically perfectionist overtones in the BIA school system—which operates vocational programs and tribal colleges beyond the secondary school level—writ large, which may impact the primary and secondary educational programs in ways that are not easily measurable, yet almost surely relevant (especially given the common over-

arching organizational umbrella of the BIA Office of Indian Education Programs) (<http://www.oiep.bia.edu/about.html>). In fact, the American Indian Higher Education Consortium (AIHEC) emphasizes the intrinsic value of the tribal colleges in preserving Native American perfectionisms, noting that “[a]ll parts of the colleges’ curricula are designed from an American Indian perspective, and the individual courses reflect this effort [emphasis added]” (AIHEC 1998, p. E-1).

So, in order to answer Research Question 1 (What are the principles behind the constructs of perfectionism and neutrality affecting philosophy of education?), the researcher characterized public high school citizenship education programs as philosophically neutral and non-public citizenship education programs as philosophically perfectionist. In the NAEP data set, for reasons articulated in the preceding discussion, this meant looking at the NAEP categories of public schools, Bureau of Indian Affairs schools, and Department of Defense Dependent Schools together as philosophically neutral, while looking at the NAEP categories of private schools and Catholic schools as philosophically perfectionist.

In order to answer Research Question 2 (How can civics competency be defined and articulated for study purposes in order to discern how a particular philosophical orientation in citizenship education correlates with particular expressions of civics competency?), the researcher had to establish correlations between philosophical orientation (expressed in the data by the type of school the respondent was from) and the specific intellectual skill set each question is assessing (identifying and describing; explaining and analyzing; evaluating, taking, and defending a position).

Where the Data Are Located.

The data are available by question in the public domain. The public domain response data included descriptive data about the question, delineating which intellectual skill (identifying and describing; explaining and analyzing; evaluating, taking, and defending a position) the question assesses, as well as the content area the question covers.

How the Data Were Secured.

For each question, the researcher selected the “more data” tab and printed the statistical breakout spreadsheet. The data show overall survey population response data in percentages (correct/incorrect) and then show the percentages by type of school the respondents attended. For example, the overall population correct response percentage for the first twelfth-grade question in the available data set is 55%. The public school student correct response percentage is 56%. For the four non-public categories, private school students’ correct response percentage was 58%; Catholic, 54%; and the data sample size from the Bureau of Indian Affairs schools and Department of Defense Dependent Schools was too small to enable a statistically reliable estimate. Then, for each question available for analysis in the public domain, the researcher selected the “Performance Data” tab for “cognitive domain” and “content area” classifications.

How the Data Were Interpreted.

The researcher entered the response data from all NAEP school categories into an SPSS model, described in Chapter 4. A particular data point expressing a relationship in correct response percentages between public and non-public schools does not

suggest to the researcher that private schools do teach *a particular aspect of citizenship* qualitatively better than public schools, or vice versa. The researcher hypothesized that it might suggest, however, that one type of school (and, by implication, one type of philosophical orientation in citizenship education: perfectionist or neutral) is teaching *a way of interpreting the world* that better enables students to undertake certain kinds of intellectual challenges, and that *this* qualitative difference has implications for education leaders, managers, and policymakers in curriculum development for civics competency.

The researcher hypothesized that students in philosophically perfectionist citizenship education programs would demonstrate higher correct response percentages than students in philosophically neutral citizenship education programs on questions that require the respondent to evaluate, take, or defend a position. The researcher further hypothesized that neither type of philosophical orientation would correlate with significant differences in student correct response rates on questions assessing the intellectual skills of identifying and describing or explaining and analyzing. The correlation between philosophical orientation in citizenship education and demonstrated student ability to evaluate, take, or defend a position expresses a relationship that provides the grounding for the discussion of Research Question 3.

In order to answer Research Question 3 (What are the quantitative and qualitative aspects of the rubric for expressing relationships between kinds of citizenship education and kinds of civics competency?), the researcher had to design appropriate models that would depict quantitative correlations between numbers of correct responses to questions requiring students to evaluate, take, or defend a position within

the student categories of public or non-public schools. Once all data were entered into the models, the researcher performed various statistical analyses (described in Chapter 4) to determine statistical significance.

Where the Data Are Located.

The response data in the public domain were entered into the researcher's SPSS model, providing the material for analysis in Research Question 3.

How the Data Were Secured.

The researcher used SPSS outputs to illustrate the data in this study.

How the Data Were Interpreted.

The researcher hypothesized that higher levels of correct responses on questions requiring students to evaluate, take, or defend a position correlate with participation in citizenship education programs that are perfectionist because perfectionist programs are embedded in a perfectionist orientation in the school that not only *exposes* students to a variety of different ways of interpreting the relationship between the individual and the collective, but *encourages students to endorse a particular model of this relationship*. The process of endorsement itself is “integral to rationality broadly constructed,”ⁱⁱⁱ and students who are embedded in a perfectionist environment are not only being asked (figuratively, in the context of the perfectionist orientation—Catholic, military, etc.—and, literally, in the context of the specific course work addressing the relevant issues) to recognize, understand, and (for lack of a better term, though this one is imprecise) “tolerate” competing ways of being-in-the-world within the social construct of a political community. In contrast to their brethren students in neutralist citizenship education programs, who are in effect being

asked to accept a tension between what one might argue is a natural desire to *make particular value judgments* on ways of being-in-the-world and the neutralist claim that *the state cannot advocate that one ought to make any particular value judgment about any particular model of relationship between individual and collective*, students in perfectionist programs, the researcher hypothesized, are being led further along the path of cognitive development in their constant requirement to bring the mode of relationship between individual and collective they are being taught under constant scrutiny in the light of competing views.

For example, alluding to the high schools previously mentioned as illustrations of how perfectionism and neutrality manifest themselves in particular cases, students at Burke Catholic High School are taking classes advocating a relationship between individual and collective that accepts—and perhaps posits—a strong government role in regulating the medical procedures of abortion and euthanasia. Further, Burke students are socialized within a framework that reinforces a particular metaphysics, under which certain constraints on human free will are taken for granted as operating assumptions for persons pursuing the good life. Students at New York Military Academy are taking classes advocating the development of certain character traits as virtues, in the Aristotelian project of maximizing human flourishing within the context of a community placing high value in the construction, maintenance of, and respect for formal hierarchies, containing within them strict role relationships. In contrast, O'Neill High School students are learning in an environment that de-emphasizes the value of value judgment itself, preferring instead to emphasize the value of pluralism itself: for a neutralist, being a good citizen is being a person whose

own judgments are tempered by societal advocacy of refraining from judgment concerning particular ways of understanding relationships between individuals and the community. It is possible for students in neutralist citizenship education programs to seek out perfectionist associations (such as Bible study groups or Junior ROTC), as it is possible for students in perfectionist citizenship education programs to adopt a neutralist position. However, the researcher hypothesized that the longer a person learns citizenship concepts in a neutralist environment, the weaker that person's critical thinking dispositions vis-à-vis citizenship issues will be, in terms of the student's demonstrated ability to evaluate, take, or defend a position.

In order to answer Research Question 4 (How might the study results inform the curriculum decisions of education leaders, managers, and policymakers?), the researcher thought that, whatever its findings, the proposed research could make two valuable contributions to the professional dialogue in education leadership, management, and policy. Extrinsically, the research could bring clarity to the relationship between specific citizenship education programs, the philosophy of education behind those programs, and the political philosophical commitments expressed therein. This clarity could enable educators to see where dichotomies between desired end states and actual outcomes result—at least in part—from foundational cognitive dissonance between theory and practice. Once educators consciously realize dissonance in philosophical terms, structured discussions concerning specific re-orientations in theoretical commitments and practice could begin. This discussion could in turn increase educators' awareness of the places where federal and state education policy diverges from local conceptions of the

school's role in citizenship education, thus structuring discussions between educators and politicians. Ultimately, the research could enable greater coherence in American citizenship education, hopefully increasing the positive correlation between students' education and students' demonstrated civic competence, better preparing them for lives of engagement in community.

Greater community engagement might be the extrinsic manifestation of the intrinsic value of the research for students. A foundational assumption of citizenship education is that it can both motivate and enable educated persons to actively contribute—and to appreciate the value in contributing—in a community. A foundational assumption about persons who are contributing is that they are—or are at least more susceptible to being—more other-directed (less selfish), more connected on a psychological and emotional level to the people around them (less alienated), and more inclined to see value in preservation of what is for the sake of what might be (less destructive) than persons who are not. Persons who are contributors in their immediate community are better able to appreciate arguments for cosmopolitanism, a political and social philosophy based on understanding of and engagement in community at levels beyond the state. People can easily reduce the idea of meta-community to mere caricature with terms like “global village” and “spaceship Earth.” Such terms are surface-level icons representing deeper suspicion that cosmopolitanism can be either philosophically coherent or a motivator for action. Accepting the existence of community at levels larger and more remote than states as a palpable element of an examined life increases one's humility, respect for others, and awareness of interdependence. Such character-enhancing virtues cannot help but

make one a better person in the Aristotelian sense of community as the essence of human flourishing.

All gain entails some loss, however, and one other important extrinsic benefit of this research to education leaders, managers, and policymakers might be that it articulates a philosophical framework for understanding what is to some degree left behind as a curriculum developer leads students toward either the perfectionist pole or the neutral one in citizenship conceptualization. At the extreme perfectionist pole are mere dogmatists who, in the words of philosopher Isaiah Berlin, are committed to an ultimate end to which all human activity ought to aim. If so committed, says Berlin, “then surely no cost would be too high to obtain it” (Berlin, 1991, p. 15), since the extreme perfectionist argues (in Berlin’s view) something like this:

I know the only true path to the ultimate solution to the problems of society, I know which way to drive the human caravan; and since you are ignorant of what I know, you cannot be allowed to have liberty of choice...if the goal is to be reached. You declare that a given policy will make you happier, or freer, or give you room to breathe; but I know that you are mistaken, I know what you need, what all men need; and if there is resistance based on ignorance or malevolence, then it must be broken and hundreds of thousands may have to perish to make millions happy for all time. What choice have we, who have the knowledge, but to be willing to sacrifice them all? (Berlin, 1991, p. 15)

Since, in Berlin’s words, the “notion of the perfect whole, the ultimate solution, in which all good things coexist, seems...not merely unattainable—that is a truism—but conceptually incoherent; [one might not be able to make sense of] harmony of this

kind” (Berlin, 1991, p. 13). Therefore, he, like Rawls and others, prefers education in a neutral framework for understanding relationships between people, in which “collisions of values are [understood as] the essence of...what we are” (Berlin, 1991, p. 13). In effect, commitment to neutral citizenship education, then, is a commitment to giving up on the idea of any but temporary and limited (often specifically goal-oriented) agreement with others in order to create and maintain community. For Berlin, though, this realization is a sign of human enlightenment. “It may be that the ideal of freedom to choose [other than the broadest] ends [of freedom and liberty themselves] without claiming eternal validity for them, and the pluralism of values connected with this,” writes Berlin, may be the hallmark of maturity for our species, marking a realization that “[p]rinciples are not less sacred because their duration cannot be guaranteed” nor grounded in an unargued-for but assumed metaphysics (Berlin, 1969, in Pojman, p. 191).

However, the neutral position in citizenship education can slide into relativism (despite Berlin’s emphatic distinctions between the two) (Berlin, 1991, pp. 7-14) as readily as perfectionism can slide into unreflective dogmatism; the irony is (as this research later suggests) that carefully crafted philosophical perfectionism in citizenship education may offer persons a qualitatively better intellectual framework for instilling in young minds the rigorous analytical skills people need for effective participation in a neutral-oriented, liberal, pluralist political community such as the United States of America than the framework offered by a neutral-oriented curriculum. De Tocqueville himself reveals what may be interpreted as a concern for this irony in political philosophy when he observes that

...on scrutinizing the Constitution of the United States, the most complete of all known federal constitutions, it is frightening to note how many differences of knowledge and discernment it assumes in those governed. The government of the Union rests almost entirely upon legal fictions. The Union is an idealized nation which exists, as it were, only in men's imagination and whose scope and limitation are revealed by understanding alone. (de Tocqueville, 2003, p. 193).

De Tocqueville's further observation that "[o]nce the general theory is understood, the difficulties of applying it remain [because] [e]verything in such a government is [so] arbitrary and contrived [that] it can only suit a nation...where political science reaches down to the lowest rungs of society" (de Tocqueville, 2003, p. 193) seems to suggest that philosophical perfectionism's commitment to a continual, mercilessly self-critical analytical examination of one's own beliefs—and the justifications behind those beliefs—what in Nietzsche's terms amounts to a "*new demand [for a] critique of moral values, [in which] the value of these values themselves must be called into question*" (Nietzsche, 1992, p. 456)—may be the better route to a functioning pluralist political community.

Thus, the researcher's approach to answering Research Question 4 (How might the study results inform the curriculum decisions of education leaders, managers, and policymakers?) focused on the aforementioned considerations.

Summary of Chapter 3

In this study, the researcher sought to identify and evaluate the relationship between the philosophical orientation of high school citizenship education programs and the kinds of civics competency the students attending those programs manifested

on national assessments of civics competency, in order to discern how a particular philosophical orientation in citizenship education correlated with particular kinds of expressions of civics competency. This chapter discussed the methodology of the study, attending to the subject of the study, data collection, research design, and data analysis processes. Within the discussion, the researcher justified particular decisions about definitions and categorizations in order to fully explicate the internal logical coherence of the data analysis. Further, the researcher presented interpretations of particular high school citizenship education curricula through the critical lenses of philosophical perfectionism and neutrality in order to demonstrate how empirical situations manifest congruence with theoretical constructs. Finally, the researcher discussed how each of the theoretical constructs of philosophical perfectionism and neutrality possesses foundational commitments that, if consistently held, result in kinds of tangibly felt (and empirically inevitable, to some degree) losses to the political community—losses that must be consciously realized and accepted before implementing educational curricula oriented one way or another.

Chapter 4

Presentation of Results

The purpose of this research was to identify and evaluate the relationship between the philosophical orientation of high school citizenship education programs and the civics competency of the students attending those programs, in order to clarify how a particular philosophical orientation correlated with particular expressions of civics competency.

The research design had two major components, one qualitative, the other quantitative. The qualitative component required the researcher to derive three characterizations from the available empirical data: the characterization of particular citizenship education programs as either philosophically perfectionist or philosophically neutral, the characterization of individual questions on the selected standardized measurement as perfectionist-oriented or neutral-oriented, and the characterization of individual student responses to particular questions as indicative of a correlation between the philosophical orientation of a citizenship education program and the kinds of competencies students in a particular kind of program manifest on selected standardized measurements. The quantitative component required the researcher to construct a model for presenting the differences in performance levels within particular competencies between students in perfectionist and neutral citizenship education programs in a way that addressed the research questions.

This study applied four research questions to the problem of identifying and evaluating the relationship between the philosophical orientation of high school

citizenship education programs and the kinds of civics competency the students attending those programs manifested on national assessments of civics competency, in order to discern how a particular philosophical orientation in citizenship education correlated with particular kinds of expressions of civics competency.

1. What principles behind the constructs of perfectionism and neutrality affect philosophy of education?
2. How can civics competency be defined and articulated for study purposes in order to discern how a particular philosophical orientation in citizenship education correlates with particular expressions of civics competency?
3. What are the quantitative and qualitative aspects of the rubric for expressing relationships between kinds of citizenship education and kinds of civics competency?
4. How might the study results inform the curriculum decisions of education leaders, managers, and policymakers?

In order to answer Research Question 1 (What are the principles behind the constructs of perfectionism and neutrality affecting philosophy of education?), the researcher discussed in Chapter 3 the philosophical basis for characterizing public high school citizenship education programs as philosophically neutral and non-public high school citizenship education programs as philosophically perfectionist. In the NAEP data set, for reasons articulated in the preceding discussion (Chapter 3), this meant looking at the NAEP categories of public schools, Bureau of Indian Affairs schools, and Department of Defense Dependent Schools together as philosophically neutral, while looking at the NAEP categories of private schools and Catholic schools as philosophically perfectionist.

In order to answer Research Question 2 (How can civics competency be defined and articulated for study purposes in order to discern how a particular philosophical orientation in citizenship education correlates with particular expressions of civics competency?), the researcher hypothesized that students in philosophically perfectionist citizenship education programs would demonstrate higher correct response percentages than students in philosophically neutral citizenship education programs on questions that require the respondent to evaluate, take, or defend a position. The researcher further hypothesized that neither type of philosophical orientation would correlate with significant differences in student correct response rates on questions assessing the intellectual skills of identifying and describing or explaining and analyzing. Therefore, the researcher had to establish correlations between philosophical orientation (expressed in the data by type of school the respondent was from) and the specific intellectual skill set each question is assessing (identifying and describing; explaining and analyzing; evaluating, taking, and defending a position).

The correlation between philosophical orientation in citizenship education and demonstrated student ability to evaluate, take, or defend a position expresses a relationship that provided the grounding for the discussion of Research Question 3.

In order to answer Research Question 3 (What are the quantitative and qualitative aspects of the rubric for expressing relationships between kinds of citizenship education and kinds of civics competency?), the researcher had to design appropriate models that would depict quantitative correlations between numbers of correct responses to questions requiring students to evaluate, take, or defend a position within

the student categories of public or non-public schools. The researcher then performed statistical analyses using SPSS to determine statistical significance.

The researcher first created an SPSS model that had 38 entries in a data set: one entry for each of the 3 questions in the twelfth-grade NAEP Civics Assessment. Each question was dummy coded three ways, reflecting the NAEP differentiation in the data: by type (1 = multiple choice; 2 = short constructed response; 3 = extended constructed response); by level of difficulty (1 = easy; 2 = medium; 3 = hard); and by task (1 = identify/describe; 2 = explain/analyze; 3 = evaluate, take, and defend position). For each question, the researcher entered the overall percentage correct (discussed as the “sample population” of “sample” percentage) and the percentage correct for public, private, and Catholic school respondents. In each of the 38 questions in the data set, the NAEP data showed no data for Bureau of Indian Affairs school respondents, or for Department of Defense School respondents, due to the fact that the sample size was too small for the researchers to include in the data.

Once the data were entered into the model, the researcher first ran three one-way ANOVA tests in order to examine the relationship between the three independent variables of question difficulty (easy, medium, hard); of question type (multiple choice, short constructed response, extended constructed response); and of question task (identify/describe; explain/analyze; evaluate, take, and defend position) to the dependent variable of the percentage of correct answers from each category of respondents (sample, public, private, Catholic) in the NAEP Civics Assessment (dependent variable). In all ANOVA tests, $N = 38$.

The first one-way ANOVA examined the relationship between the independent variable of question content difficulty (easy, medium, hard) and the dependent variable of the percentage of correct answers from each category of respondents (sample, public, private, Catholic), looking at the impact of question difficulty (easy, medium, hard) on the percentage of correct answers from each category of respondents (sample, public, private, Catholic). The main effect has three levels (easy, medium, hard), and $N = 38$. The impact of question difficulty on the percentage of correct answers from each category of respondents is statistically significant, as follows: ($F =$; $dF =$; $p \leq$)

Sample % Correct: ($F = 35.396$; $dF = 2, 35$; $p \leq .000$)

Public % Correct: ($F = 35.405$; $dF = 2, 35$; $p \leq .000$)

Private % Correct: ($F = 26.693$; $dF = 2, 35$; $p \leq .000$)

Catholic % Correct: ($F = 31.515$; $dF = 2, 35$; $p \leq .000$)

This suggests that question difficulty does significantly affect the percentage of correct answers from each category of respondents. In all categories of respondents, as level of difficulty increases, percentage of correct responses decreases. The effect of question difficulty on percentage of correct answers is particularly acute for hard questions, where the sample mean was 27.6, and the highest respondent category mean was that of private school respondents: 34.7. This result was consistent with common-sense intuitive relationships between difficulty and success for any given activity, and by itself reveals nothing noteworthy about the relationship between the philosophical orientation of high school citizenship education programs and the kinds of civics competency the students attending those programs manifested on national

assessments of civics competency, in order to discern how a particular philosophical orientation in citizenship education correlated with particular kinds of expressions of civics competency.

Oneway

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Descriptives

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Sample Correct	easy	10	71.5000	9.61769	3.04138	64.6199	78.3801	59.00	90.00
	medium	18	46.2222	12.10520	2.85322	40.2024	52.2420	23.00	60.00
	hard	10	27.6000	12.87720	4.07213	18.3882	36.8118	1.00	40.00
	Total	38	47.9737	19.83511	3.21768	41.4540	54.4933	1.00	90.00
Public Correct	easy	10	71.1000	9.59687	3.03480	64.2348	77.9652	57.00	89.00
	medium	18	45.3889	12.28169	2.89482	39.2813	51.4964	22.00	59.00
	hard	10	27.0000	12.80625	4.04969	17.8390	36.1610	1.00	39.00
	Total	38	47.3158	19.94602	3.23567	40.7597	53.8719	1.00	89.00
Private Correct	easy	10	79.1000	9.96048	3.14978	71.9747	86.2253	62.00	97.00
	medium	18	54.3889	14.57290	3.43486	47.1420	61.6358	27.00	80.00
	hard	10	34.7000	14.90004	4.71181	24.0412	45.3588	.00	49.00
	Total	38	55.7105	21.06478	3.41716	48.7867	62.6343	.00	97.00
Catholic Correct	easy	10	75.5000	10.42699	3.29731	68.0410	82.9590	61.00	93.00
	medium	18	52.8333	11.67325	2.75141	47.0284	58.6383	30.00	69.00
	hard	10	31.9000	14.85822	4.69858	21.2711	42.5289	2.00	49.00
	Total	38	53.2895	19.99582	3.24375	46.7170	59.8619	2.00	93.00

Table 1: Relationship Between Question Difficulty and % Correct (Descriptive Statistics)

ANOVA

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Sample Correct	Between Groups	9740.963	2	4870.481	35.396	.000
	Within Groups	4816.011	35	137.600		
	Total	14556.974	37			
Public Correct	Between Groups	9851.033	2	4925.516	35.405	.000
	Within Groups	4869.178	35	139.119		
	Total	14720.211	37			
Private Correct	Between Groups	9916.538	2	4958.269	26.693	.000
	Within Groups	6501.278	35	185.751		
	Total	16417.816	37			
Catholic Correct	Between Groups	9511.916	2	4755.958	31.515	.000
	Within Groups	5281.900	35	150.911		
	Total	14793.816	37			

Table 2: Relationship Between Question Difficulty and % Correct (ANOVA)

Means Plots

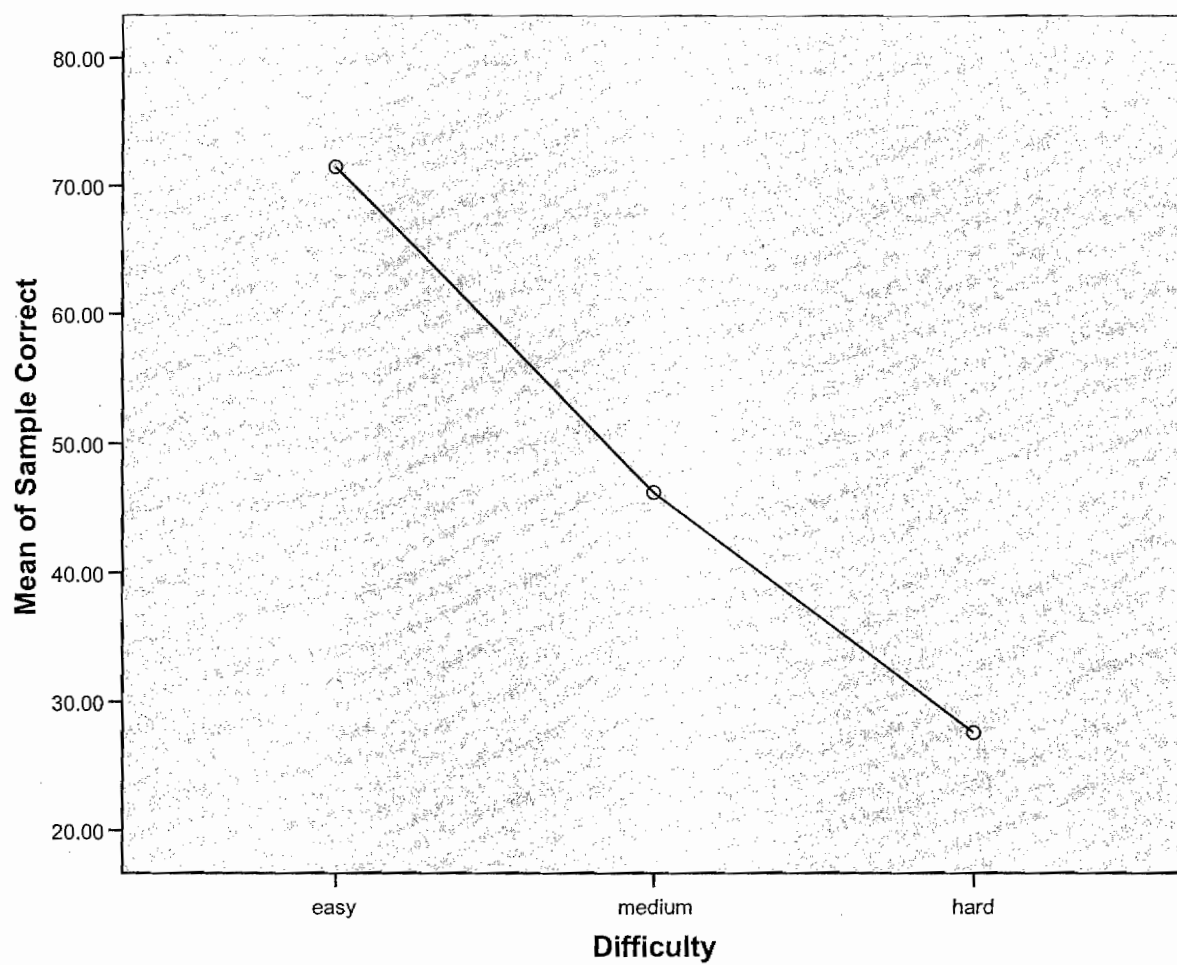


Figure 1: Mean of Sample Correct in Terms of Difficulty

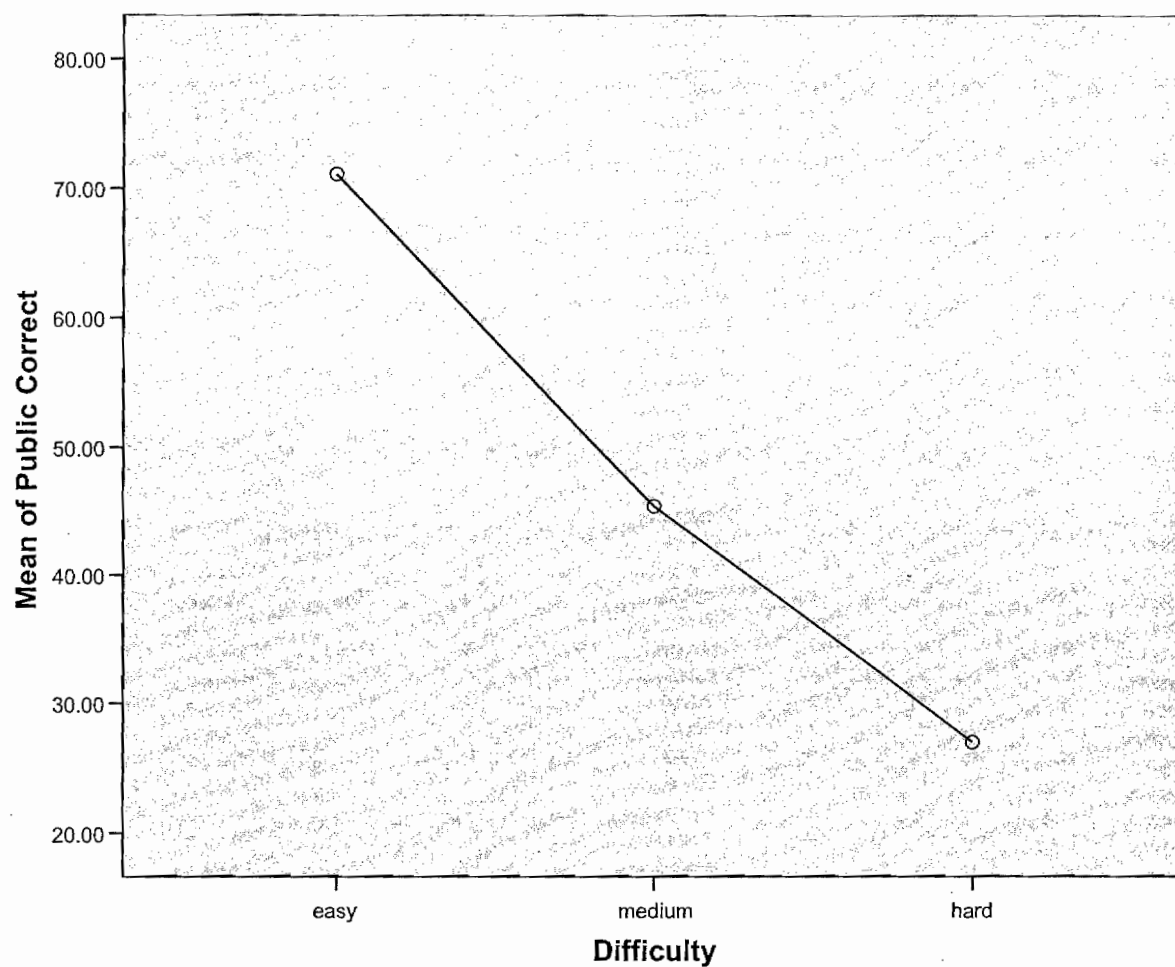


Figure 2: Mean of Public Correct in Terms of Difficulty

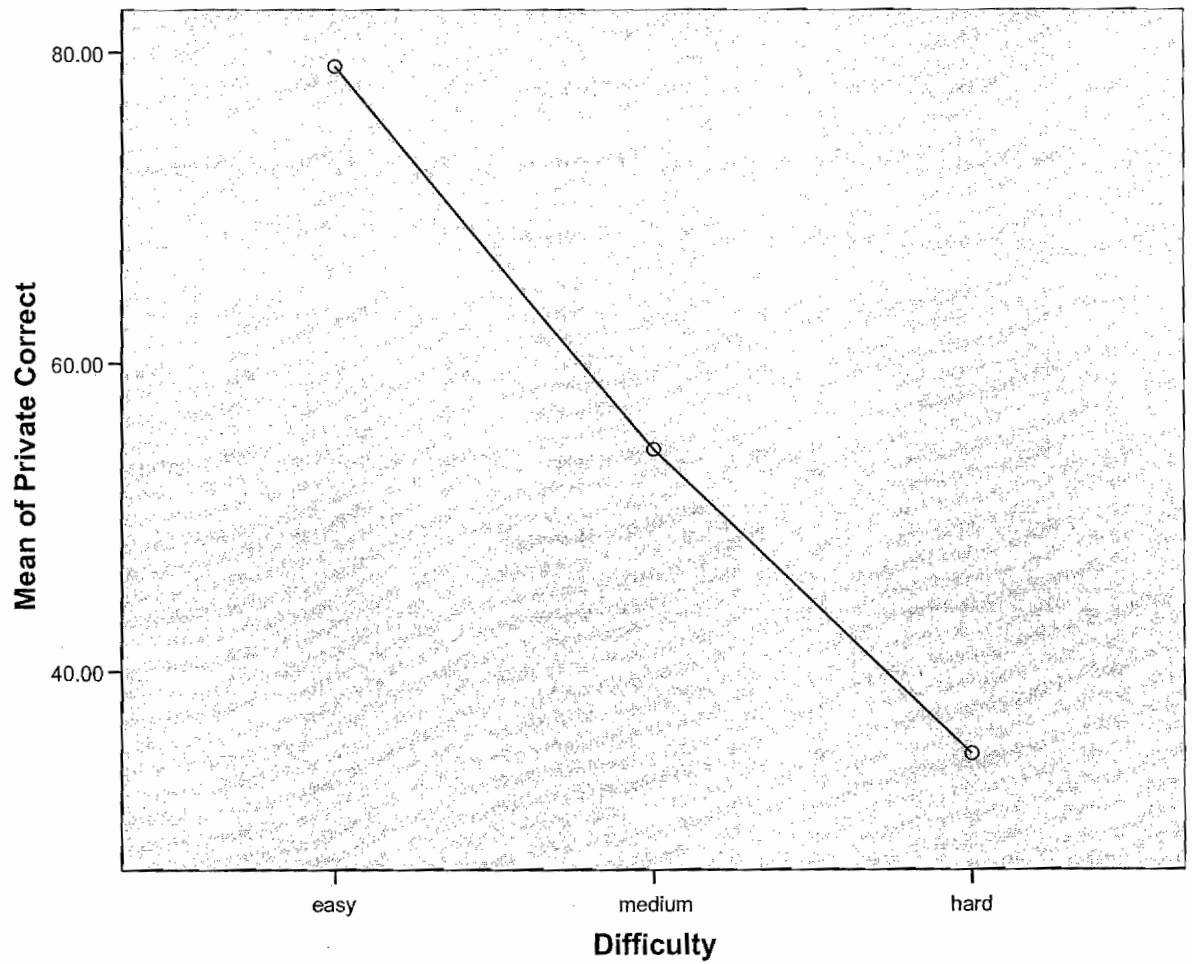


Figure 3: Mean of Private Correct in Terms of Difficulty

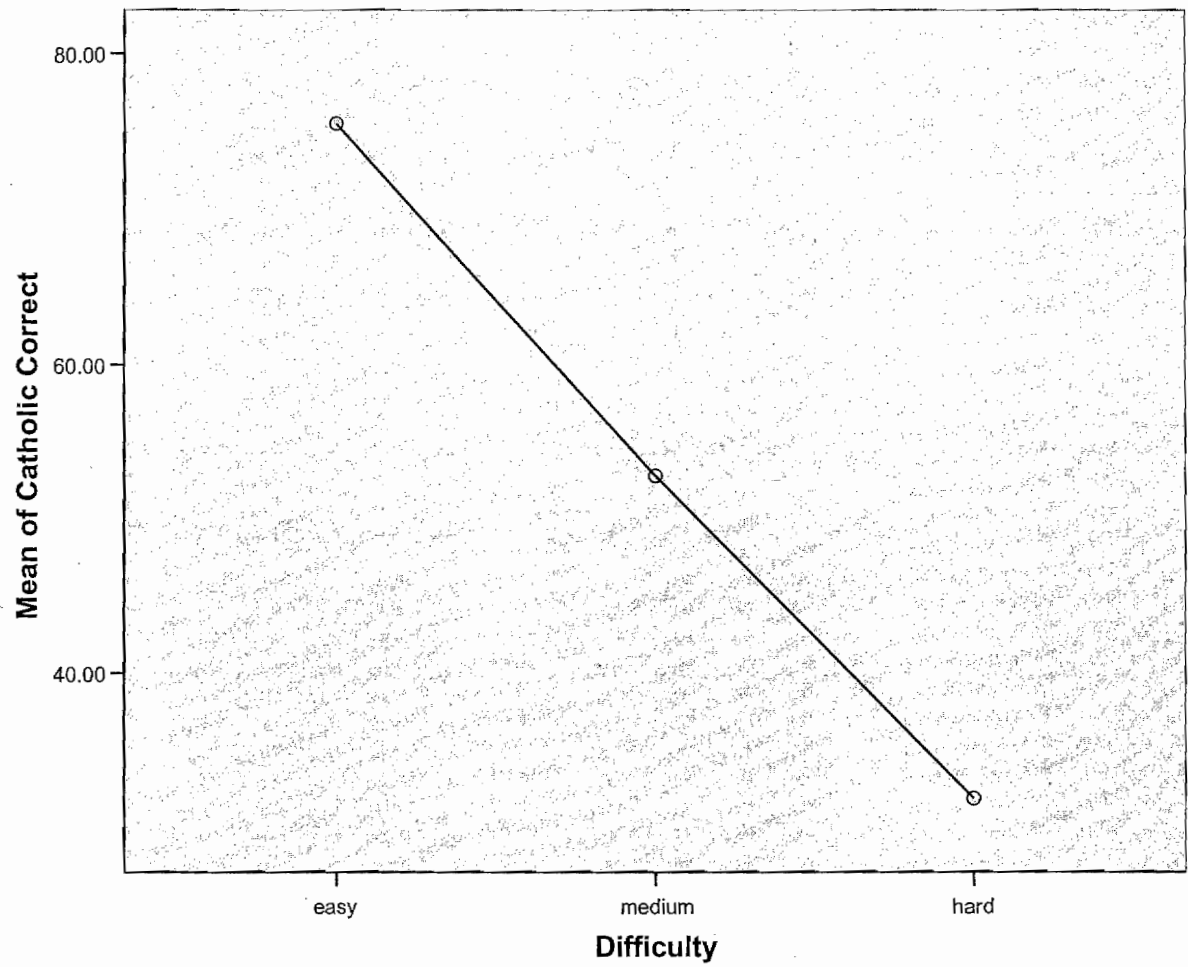


Figure 4: Mean of Catholic Correct in Terms of Difficulty

The second one-way ANOVA examined the relationship between the independent variable of question type (multiple choice, short constructed response, extended constructed response) and the dependent variable of the percentage of correct answers from each category of respondents (sample, public, private, Catholic), looking at the impact of question type (multiple choice, short constructed response, extended constructed response) on the percentage of correct answers from each category of respondents (sample, public, private, Catholic). The main effect has three levels (multiple choice, short constructed response, extended constructed response), and $N = 38$. The impact of question type on the percentage of correct answers from each category of respondents is statistically significant, as follows: ($F =$; $df =$; $p \leq$)

Sample % Correct: ($F = 9.317$; $df = 2, 35$; $p \leq .001$)

Public % Correct: ($F = 9.651$; $df = 2, 35$; $p \leq .000$)

Private % Correct: ($F = 8.762$; $df = 2, 35$; $p \leq .001$)

Catholic % Correct: ($F = 7.122$; $df = 2, 35$; $p \leq .003$)

This suggests that question type does significantly affect the percentage of correct answers from each category of respondents. In all categories of respondents, as the type of question increases in design complexity, the percentage of correct responses decreases. The effect of question type on percentage of correct answers is particularly acute for the extended constructed response question (of which there was only one in the data set), where the sample mean was 1, the private school student response mean was 0, and the highest respondent category mean was that of Catholic students: 2. It should be noted here that the short constructed response and extended constructed response rubrics allowed for test readers to assess written responses as

“unacceptable” or “partial” in addition to “complete.” The researcher decided to enter only “complete” data into the SPSS model for “percentage correct” in order to make the distinctions about manifested competence between categories of respondents as clear as possible. The resulting correlation in this model between question type and percentage of correct answers from each category of respondents was consistent with common-sense intuitive relationships between complexity in question design and level to which people successfully answer the question, especially when total success is subjectively evaluated, as it is in any written constructed response question assessment of student knowledge. By itself, the correlations in the second one-way ANOVA reveal nothing noteworthy about the relationship between the philosophical orientation of high school citizenship education programs and the kinds of civics competency the students attending those programs manifested on national assessments of civics competency, in order to discern how a particular philosophical orientation in citizenship education correlated with particular kinds of expressions of civics competency.

Oneway

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Descriptives

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Sample Correct	multiple choice	31	53.0645	16.39092	2.94390	47.0523	59.0768	25.00	90.00
	short constructed response	6	29.5000	16.96762	6.92700	11.6936	47.3064	9.00	59.00
	extended constructed response	1	1.0000	.	.	.	.	1.00	1.00
	Total	38	47.9737	19.83511	3.21768	41.4540	54.4933	1.00	90.00
Public Correct	multiple choice	31	52.5484	16.44149	2.95298	46.5176	58.5792	25.00	89.00
	short constructed response	6	28.0000	16.60120	6.77741	10.5781	45.4219	8.00	57.00
	extended constructed response	1	1.0000	.	.	.	.	1.00	1.00
	Total	38	47.3158	19.94602	3.23567	40.7597	53.8719	1.00	89.00
Private Correct	multiple choice	31	60.6774	16.99095	3.05167	54.4451	66.9098	35.00	97.00
	short constructed response	6	39.3333	21.35103	8.71652	16.9268	61.7399	18.00	76.00
	extended constructed response	1	.0000	.	.	.	.	.00	.00
	Total	38	55.7105	21.06478	3.41716	48.7867	62.6343	.00	97.00
Catholic Correct	multiple choice	31	57.5484	16.67701	2.99528	51.4312	63.6656	28.00	93.00
	short constructed response	6	39.8333	20.83667	8.50653	17.9666	61.7001	12.00	75.00
	extended constructed response	1	2.0000	.	.	.	.	2.00	2.00
	Total	38	53.2895	19.99582	3.24375	46.7170	59.8619	2.00	93.00

Table 3: Relationship Between Question Type and % Correct
(Descriptive Statistics)

ANOVA

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Sample Correct	Between Groups	5057.603	2	2528.801	9.317	.001
	Within Groups	9499.371	35	271.411		
	Total	14556.974	37			
Public Correct	Between Groups	5232.533	2	2616.267	9.651	.000
	Within Groups	9487.677	35	271.076		
	Total	14720.211	37			
Private Correct	Between Groups	5477.708	2	2738.854	8.762	.001
	Within Groups	10940.108	35	312.575		
	Total	16417.816	37			
Catholic Correct	Between Groups	4279.305	2	2139.653	7.122	.003
	Within Groups	10514.511	35	300.415		
	Total	14793.816	37			

Table 4: Relationship Between Question Type and % Correct (ANOVA)

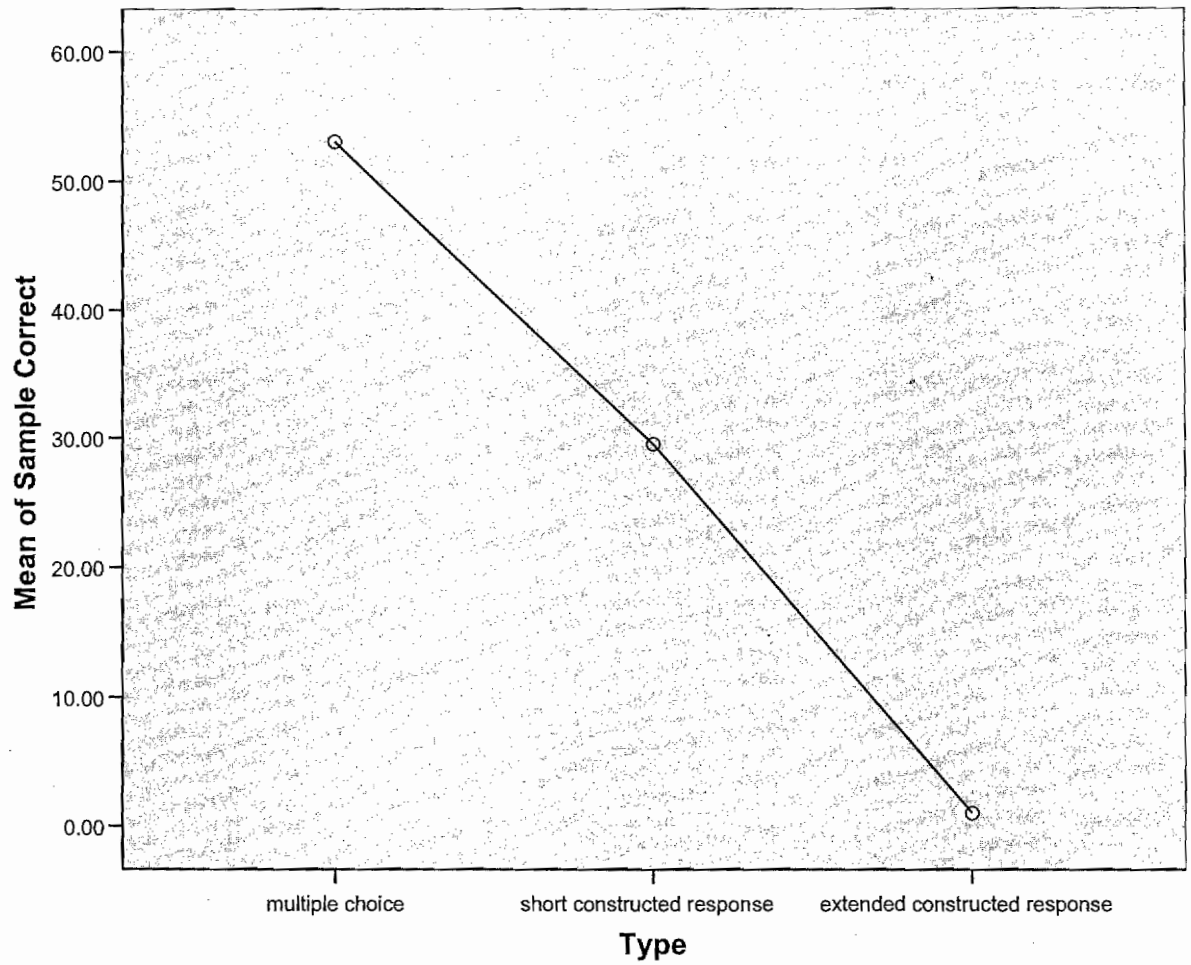
**Means
Plots**

Figure 5: Mean of Sample Correct in Terms of Type

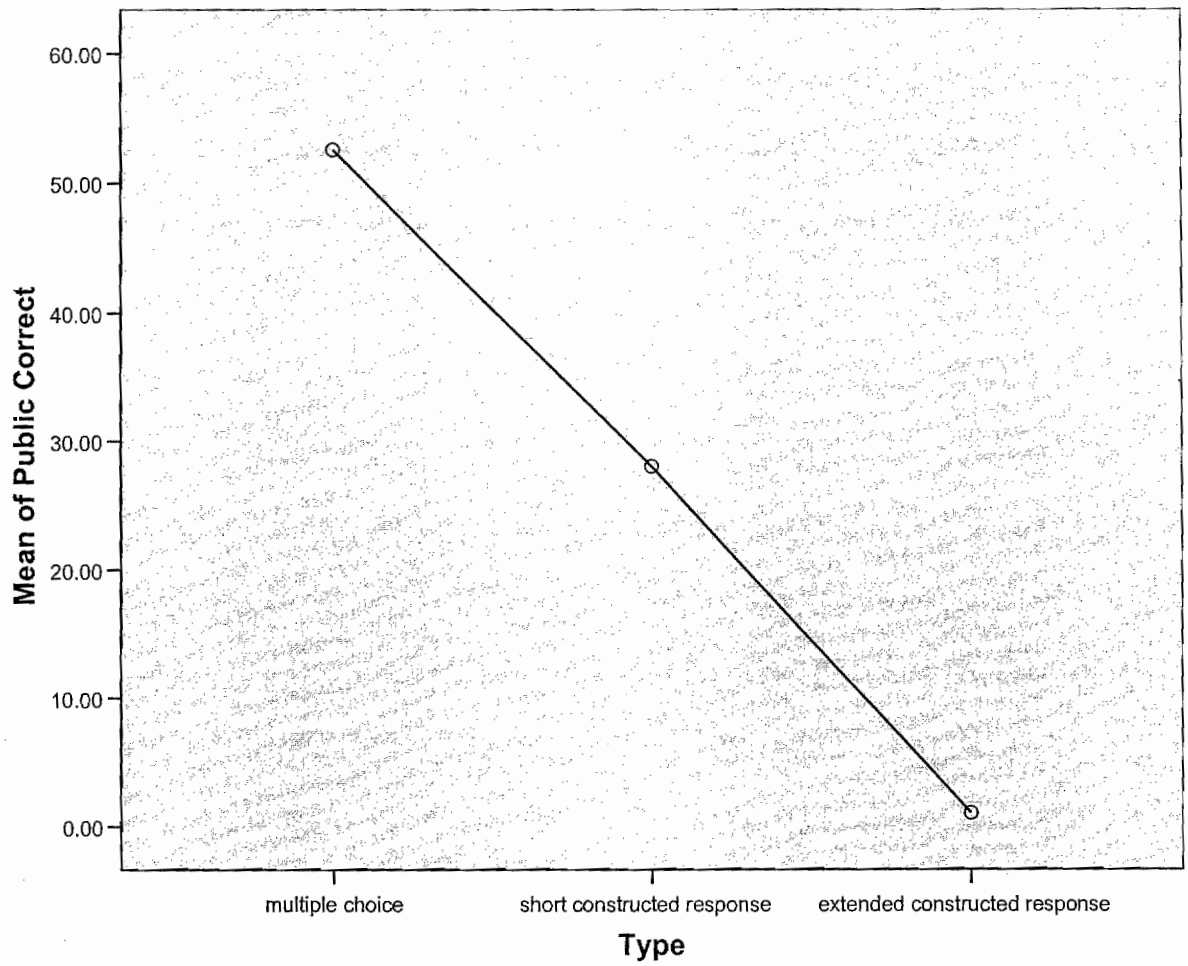


Figure 6: Mean of Public Correct in Terms of Type

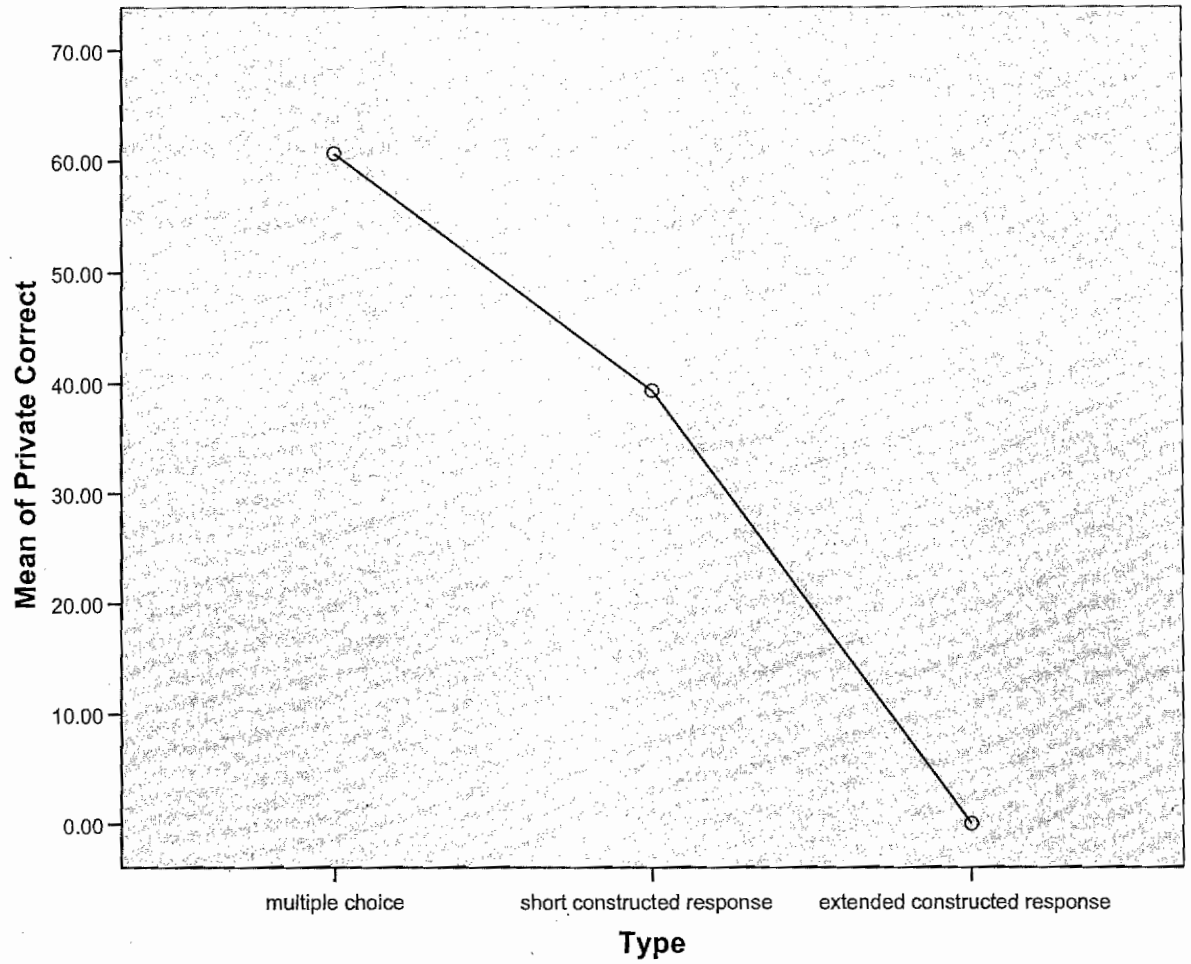


Figure 7: Mean of Private Correct in Terms of Type

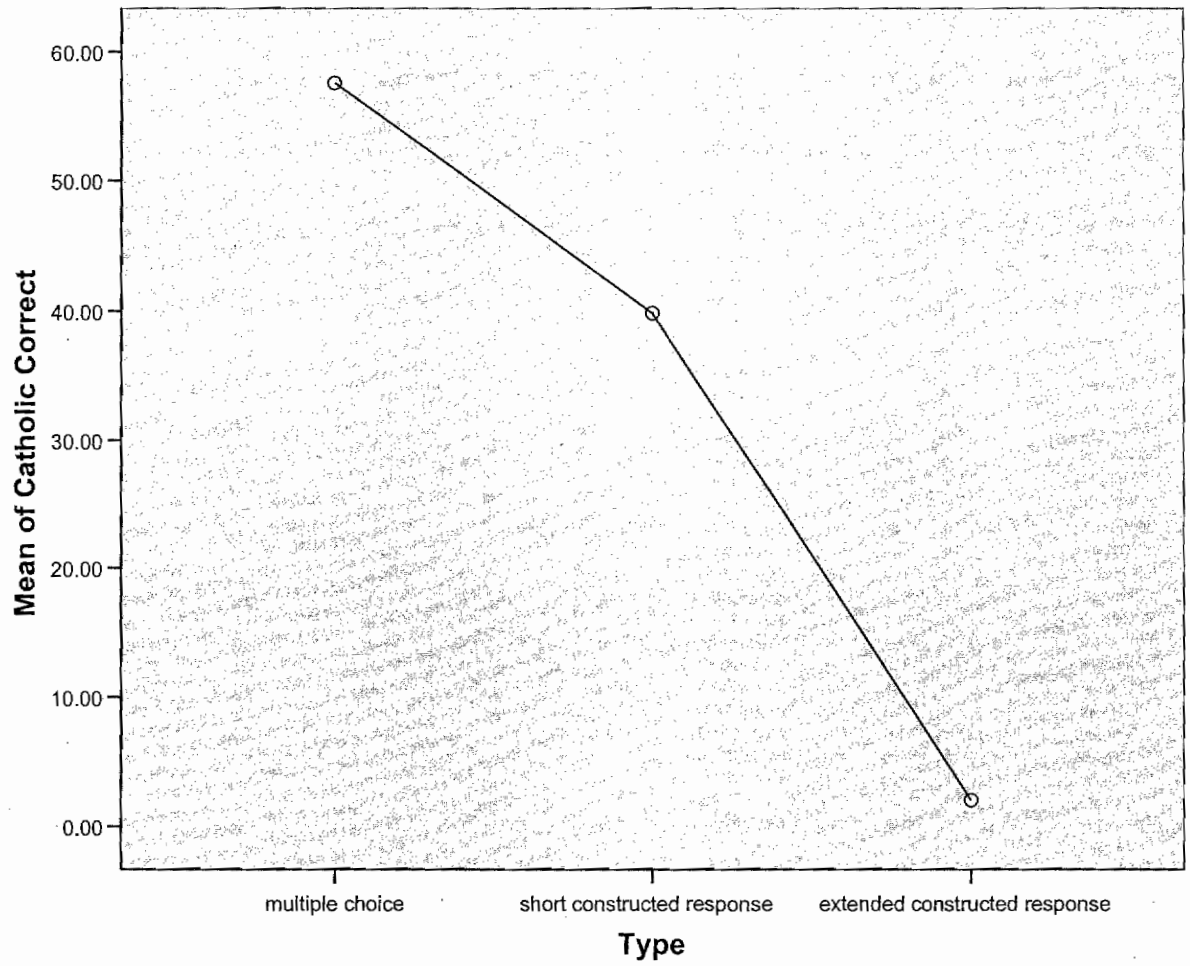


Figure 8: Mean of Catholic Correct in Terms of Type

The third one-way ANOVA examined the relationship between the independent variable of question task (identify/describe; explain/analyze; evaluate, take, and defend position) and the dependent variable of the percentage of correct answers from each category of respondents (sample, public, private, Catholic), looking at the impact of question task (identify/describe; explain/analyze; evaluate, take, and defend position) on the percentage of correct answers from each category of respondents (sample, public, private, Catholic). The main effect has three levels (identify/describe; explain/analyze; evaluate, take, and defend position), and $N = 38$. The impact of question task on the percentage of correct answers from each category of respondents is not statistically significant, as follows: ($F =$; $dF =$; $p \leq$)

Sample % Correct: ($F = 2.042$; $dF = 2, 35$; $p \leq .145$)

Public % Correct: ($F = 2.138$; $dF = 2, 35$; $p \leq .133$)

Private % Correct: ($F = .996$; $dF = 2, 35$; $p \leq .379$)

Catholic % Correct: ($F = 1.198$; $dF = 2, 35$; $p \leq .314$)

This suggests that question task does not significantly affect the percentage of correct answers from any category of respondents. In all categories of respondents, as the task increases in complexity in terms of the cognitive domain the respondent is asked to operate within, the percentage of correct responses decreases, but not to any statistically significant degree. In fact, with significance set at $\leq .05$ level, the ANOVA reveals that question task is highly *insignificant* by itself as a predictor for how students will perform on the NAEP Civics Assessment. Further, the effect of question task on percentage of correct answers is far less observable in private school

and Catholic school respondents than it is in public school respondents (with private and Catholic p-values roughly twice that of the public respondent p-value).

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Descriptives

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Sample Correct	identify/describe	8	56.5000	19.50092	6.89461	40.1968	72.8032	36.00	90.00
	explain/analyze	21	49.0476	20.03865	4.37279	39.9261	58.1691	1.00	83.00
	evaluate, take, and defend position	9	37.8889	17.11319	5.70440	24.7345	51.0432	9.00	60.00
	Total	38	47.9737	19.83511	3.21768	41.4540	54.4933	1.00	90.00
Public Correct	identify/describe	8	56.1250	19.37920	6.85158	39.9236	72.3264	35.00	89.00
	explain/analyze	21	48.3810	20.25951	4.42099	39.1589	57.6030	1.00	83.00
	evaluate, take, and defend position	9	37.0000	16.88194	5.62731	24.0234	49.9766	8.00	59.00
	Total	38	47.3158	19.94602	3.23567	40.7597	53.8719	1.00	89.00
Private Correct	identify/describe	8	61.2500	23.02018	8.13886	42.0047	80.4953	35.00	97.00
	explain/analyze	21	57.0952	21.50094	4.69189	47.3081	66.8823	.00	86.00
	evaluate, take, and defend position	9	47.5556	17.95210	5.98403	33.7564	61.3548	18.00	76.00
	Total	38	55.7105	21.06478	3.41716	48.7867	62.6343	.00	97.00
Catholic Correct	identify/describe	8	59.6250	20.36760	7.20104	42.5973	76.6527	36.00	93.00
	explain/analyze	21	54.3810	19.72936	4.30530	45.4003	63.3616	2.00	87.00
	evaluate, take, and defend position	9	45.1111	19.86482	6.62161	29.8417	60.3806	12.00	75.00
	Total	38	53.2895	19.99582	3.24375	46.7170	59.8619	2.00	93.00

Table 5: Relationship Between Question Task and % Correct (Descriptive Statistics)

ANOVA

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Sample Correct	Between Groups	1521.132	2	760.566	2.042	.145
	Within Groups	13035.841	35	372.453		
	Total	14556.974	37			
Public Correct	Between Groups	1602.383	2	801.192	2.138	.133
	Within Groups	13117.827	35	374.795		
	Total	14720.211	37			
Private Correct	Between Groups	884.284	2	442.142	.996	.379
	Within Groups	15533.532	35	443.815		
	Total	16417.816	37			
Catholic Correct	Between Groups	948.100	2	474.050	1.198	.314
	Within Groups	13845.716	35	395.592		
	Total	14793.816	37			

Table 6: Relationship Between Question Task and % Correct (ANOVA)

Means Plots

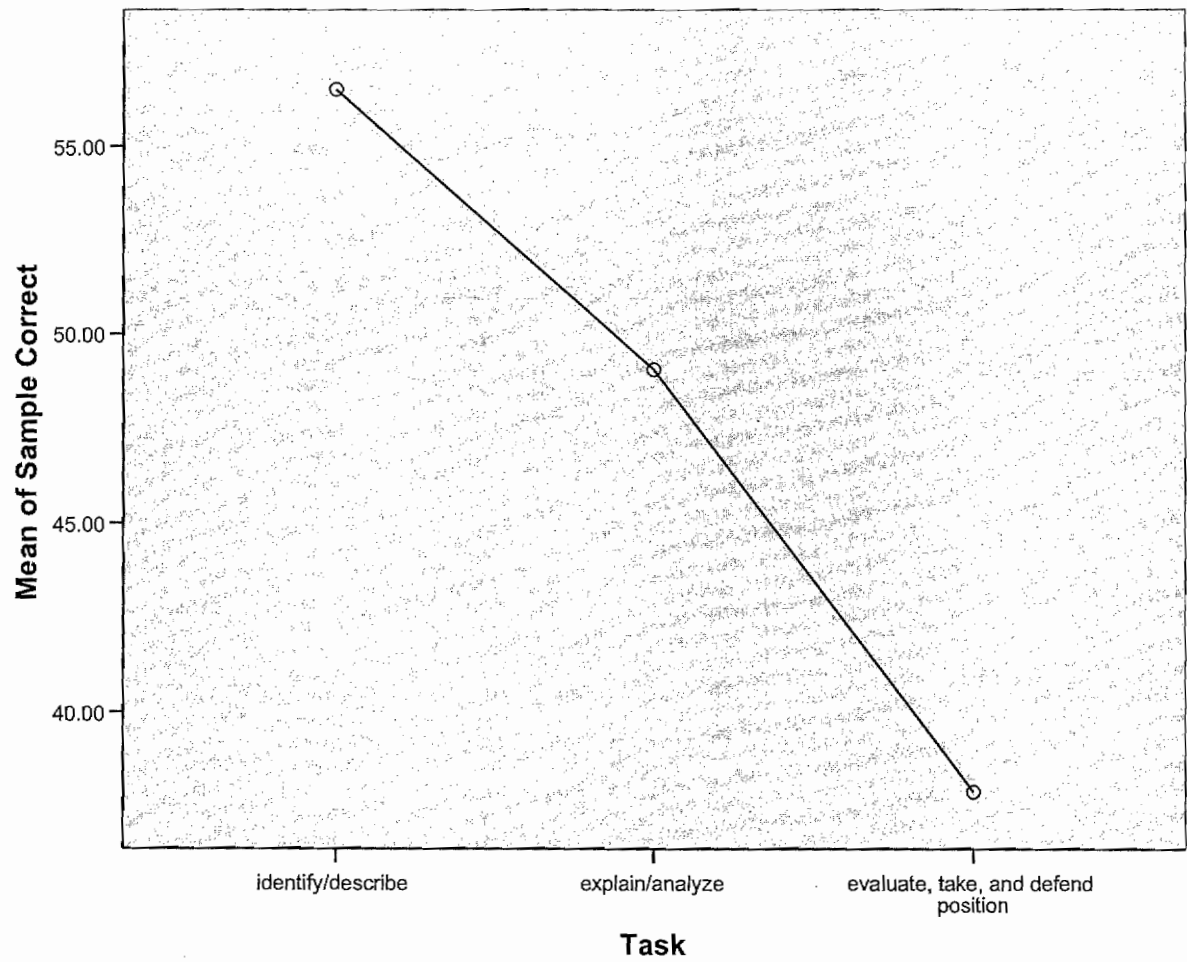


Figure 9: Mean of Sample Correct in Terms of Task

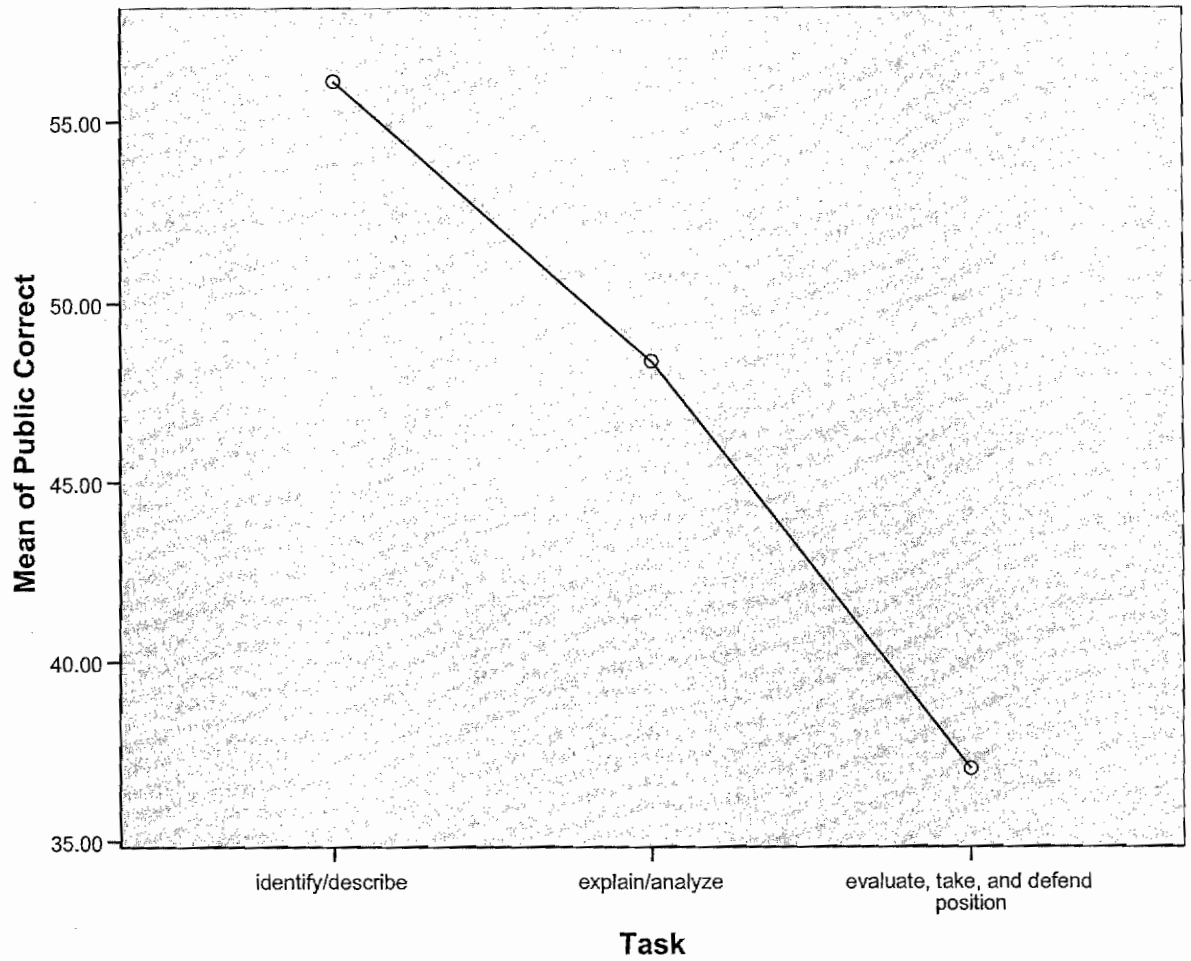


Figure 10: Mean of Public Correct in Terms of Task

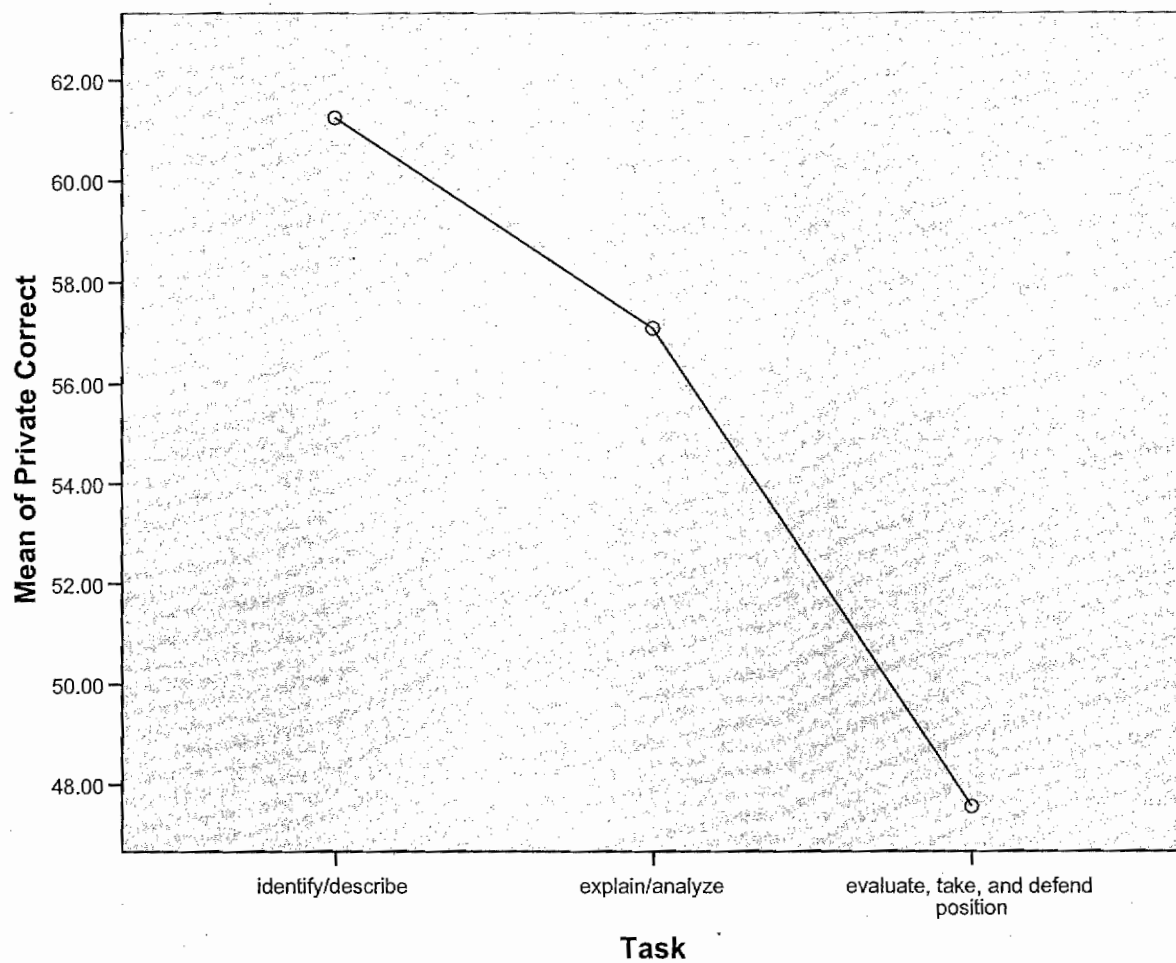


Figure 11: Mean of Private Correct in Terms of Task

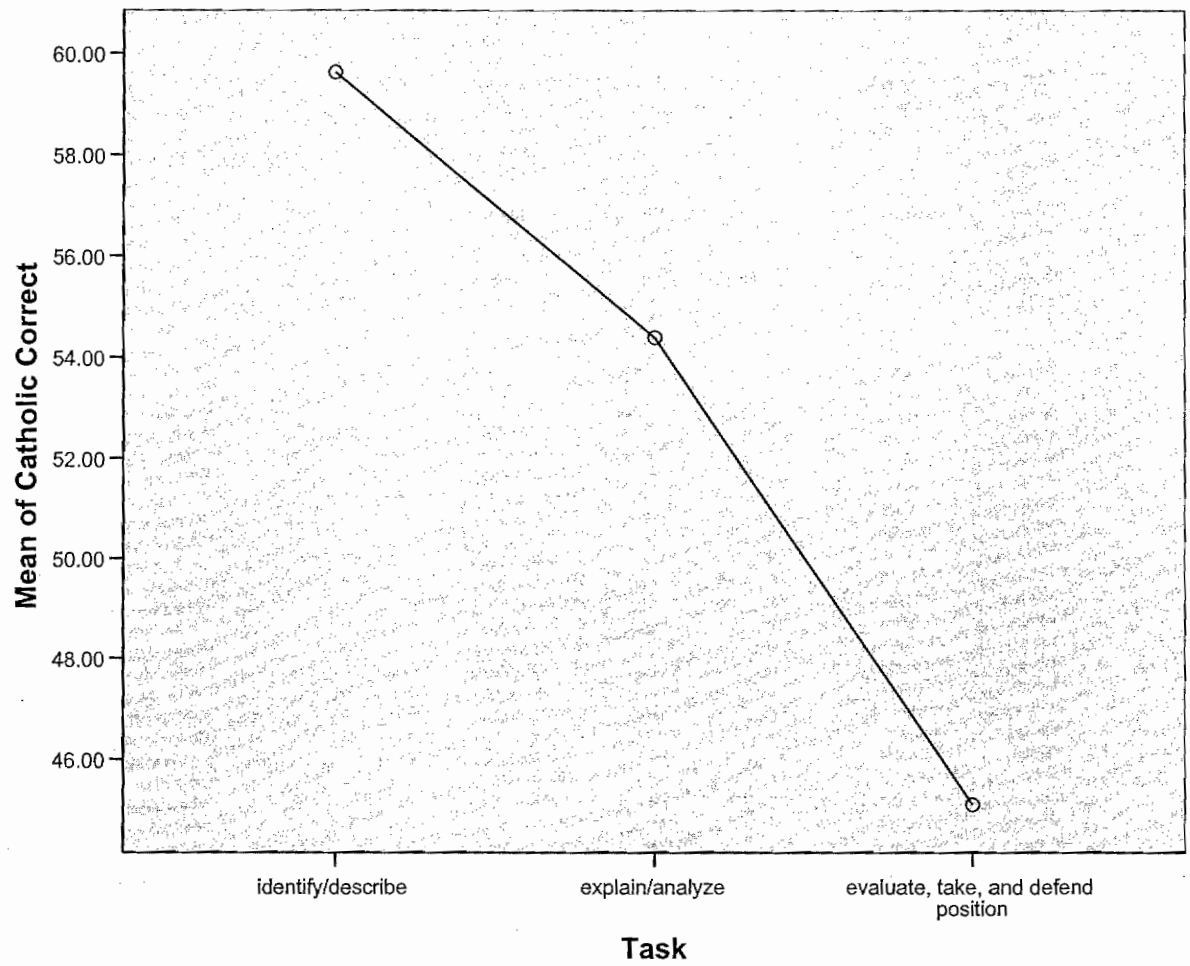


Figure 12: Mean of Catholic Correct in Terms of Task

By itself, the results of the third one-way ANOVA are highly counter-intuitive. When placed alongside the results of the first two one-way ANOVAs, they are even more puzzling, for two main reasons.

First, in accordance with Bloom's taxonomy, it is intuitively logical to expect that increasing along the line of complexity in cognitive domain categories from knowledge to evaluation would manifest a decrease in overall student performance that would be statistically significant, especially in view of the fact that increasing complexity of task and increasing level of difficulty (in terms of content) correlated in a statistically significant way with decreases in student performance. Second, it is intuitively logical to expect that the content making a hard question "hard" is not *merely correlated* with higher cognitive domain effort than that required by "easy" questions: one has good logical grounds to see the two *inextricably coupled* in some way that would reveal something noteworthy about the relationship between the philosophical orientation of high school citizenship education programs and the kinds of civics competency the students attending those programs manifested on national assessments of civics competency, in order to discern how a particular philosophical orientation in citizenship education correlated with particular kinds of expressions of civics competency. Seeing that the quantitative data had yielded some counter-intuitive results, the researcher turned to qualitative research methods in an attempt to uncover anything empirical that would reinforce the intuition concerning an inextricable coupling between the content of a "hard" question and the cognitive domain efforts required to answer that question. First, the researcher constructed a

matrix graphically depicting the relationship between type, difficulty, and task in the 38-question data set:

Relationship Between Type, Difficulty, and Task: 38 Questions














































Difficulty  Task (Cognitive Domain) 	Easy (10)	Medium (18)	Hard (10) 7 of 10 are about LAW (L)	Notes
Identify/Describe (8)	  	   		
Explain/Analyze (21)	     	           	   	
Evaluate, Take, and Defend a Position (9)		  	    	
Key to Type  Multiple Choice (31) Short Constructed Response (6) Extended Constructed Response (1)				

Figure 13

Conducting pattern, theme, and content analysis of the ten questions in the “hard” category within the data set, the researcher first attempted to discover content patterns using the five NAEP framework content areas of civics knowledge (NAEP 1999, p. 22):

- (a.) What are civic life, politics, and government?
- (b.) What are the foundations of the American political system?
- (c.) How does the government established by the Constitution embody the purposes, values, and principles of American democracy?
- (d.) What is the relationship of the United States to other nations and to world affairs?
- (e.) What are the roles of citizens in American democracy?

This initial analysis revealed that the ten “hard” questions were fairly evenly split among three of the five content areas, the only one not included being “What is the relationship of the United States to other nations and to world affairs?”

- (a.) What are civic life, politics, and government? (3 questions)
- (b.) What are the foundations of the American political system? (3 questions)
- (c.) How does the government established by the Constitution embody the purposes, values, and principles of American democracy? (3 questions)
- (d.) What is the relationship of the United States to other nations and to world affairs? (0 questions)
- (e.) What are the roles of citizens in American democracy? (1 question)

Looking deeper, the researcher examined the substance of each “hard” question, subjectively determining the core subject of each question. Seven of the ten concerned law, revealing the following content/theme pattern:

Relationship Between Assessment Content Area and Subject of Question to Difficulty within “Hard” Question Subset

<u>Question</u>	<u>Content Area</u>	<u>Subject of Question</u>
13	Foundations	Law
15	Civic life, politics, gov't.	Law
16	Principles	Law
18	Civic life, politics, gov't.	Representation
19	Civic life, politics, gov't.	Representation
21	Roles of citizens	Participation
22	Foundations	Law
24	Principles	Law
33	Principles	Law
35	Foundations	Law

Content Area Breakout: 3 “Foundations”, 3 “Principles”, 3 “Civic life, politics, gov’t”, 1 “Roles of citizens”
Subject Area Breakout: 7 of 10 “Hard” questions concern LAW.

Figure 14

Combining the relationship between type, difficulty, and task matrix with the relationship between assessment content area and subject of question data for “hard” questions matrix, the researcher could then illustrate further correlation between cognitive domain and content:

Relationship Between Type, Difficulty, and Task:
38 Questions















































Difficulty  Task (Cognitive Domain) 	Easy (10)	Medium (18)	Hard (10) 7 of 10 are about LAW (L)	Notes
Identify/Describe (8)	  	   	#33 	
Explain/Analyze (21)	     	           	 #13  #24  #35   #22	
Evaluate, Take, and Defend a Position (9)		  	 #15  #16   	
Key to Type 	Multiple Choice (31) 	Short Constructed Response (6) 	Extended Constructed Response (1) 	

Figure 15

So, the one “hard” identify/describe question was about law, all of the “hard” explain/analyze questions were about law, and two of the five “hard” evaluate, take, and defend a position questions were about law, as follows (in order of question number):

Question 13: What was the effect of the Supreme Court decision in the case of *Lochner v. New York*?

Question 15 (referring to the *Lochner* case): Which of the following supports the majority decision?

Question 16 (referring to the *Lochner* case): Which of the following is the best way to summarize the difference between the two opinions?

Question 22: Explain in your own words what the blindfold and scales on the figure of justice mean, and give one reason why the values represented by the figure are important to American constitutional democracy.

Question 24: What happens to most of the bills introduced in the House of Representatives?

Question 33 (referring to *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*): Which part of the United States Constitution did the Court most likely use to support its decision?

Question 35 (referring to the statement “The United States is not a fully democratic country. The framers of the Constitution created a system in which majorities—even large majorities or their representatives in Congress—do not have the right to do anything and everything they want”): Which aspect of the American system of government shows one of the limits on the power of majorities discussed above?

Two of the other three “hard” questions were deemed by the researcher to concern themselves primarily with the issue of representation in American government:

Question 18: Which of the following is the best argument that a proportional representation system is better than a single-member district system?

Question 19: Which of the following is the best argument that a single-member district system is better than a proportional representation system?

The remaining “hard” question was deemed by the researcher to concern itself primarily with the issue of participation in American government:

Question 21: Explain two ways that a democratic society benefits from citizens actively participating in the political process.

So, Research Question 3 (What are the quantitative and qualitative aspects of the rubric for expressing relationships between kinds of citizenship education and kinds of civics competency?) yielded a rich mine of data. Quantitatively, Research Question 3 data show that there are observable, often substantial, *and* statistically significant differences between public (philosophically neutral) and private/Catholic (philosophically perfectionist) student performance on the NAEP Civics Assessment, where “performance” is examined in terms of question difficulty (easy, medium, hard) or question type (multiple choice, short constructed response, extended constructed response). The data suggest that students in philosophically perfectionist citizenship education programs perform better than students in philosophically neutral citizenship education programs on nationally administered civics assessments, and

that question difficulty and question type are very reliable predictors of student outcomes.

Further, Research Question 3 data shows that there are observable, often substantial, *but not statistically significant* differences between public (philosophically neutral) and private/Catholic (philosophically perfectionist) student performance on the NAEP Civics Assessment, where “performance” is examined in terms of cognitive domain task of the question (identify/describe; explain/analyze; evaluate, take, and defend a position). Still further, Research Question 3 data illuminate a specific empirical correlation between question difficulty and question content, in that seven of the ten “hard” questions were about law. This specific empirical correlation manifests the question of generalizability: because—in a purely quantitative sense—the data suggest that increase in the complexity of the cognitive domain tasks required by the question is not a reliable predictor of student outcomes (thereby weakening the claim that philosophical perfectionism hones higher order cognitive domain skills better than philosophical neutrality), the researcher must rely on purely qualitative analysis to defend the claim that the content of the question is coupled with the cognitive domain task required to answer the question in a way that illustrates both that cognitive domain is in fact a reliable predictor of student outcomes (despite the lack of statistical significance in this research data) and that philosophical perfectionism hones higher order cognitive domain skills in students to a greater degree than does philosophical neutrality.

Given the fact that there is nothing in the NAEP Civics Assessment technical report data that delineates the NAEP framers’ rubric for “easy,” “medium,” and

“hard,” there is no reason to suppose that the NAEP framers intended for 70% of the “hard” questions to be about law. What makes a “hard” question hard, then, if it is *not* specifically the fact that “hard” questions invoke higher order taxonomic cognitive domain skills, and if it is *not* specifically related to the type of response required (eight of the ten “hard” questions—and six of the seven concerning law—are multiple choice questions, breaking down any sort of intuitive argument that might link “easy” in terms of content with “easy” in terms of type of response)? The answer is complicated, and the seams of the data (figuratively, the space between the numbers) suggest complexities in the evident relationships between philosophical orientation in citizenship education and kinds of civics competency that give rise to interesting implications for informing the curriculum decisions of education leaders, managers, and policymakers.

In order to answer Research Question 4 (How might the study results inform the curriculum decisions of education leaders, managers, and policymakers?), the researcher wanted more than anything else to reflect the sometimes subtle and sometimes not-so-subtle nuanced complexities the research data suggest within and around the relationship between the philosophical orientation of a citizenship education program and the kinds of civics competencies students in particularly-oriented citizenship education programs manifested on the NAEP Civics Assessment, proceeding from the assumption that citizenship educators in the United States, public and non-public, are committed to the same basic relationship between freedom, equality, and rationality (as the core values of citizenship in a liberal democracy) on the one hand, and the necessity for citizens in such a political community to possess

the characteristics of being informed, active, and reflective on the other. The remainder of Chapter 4 elaborates upon eight topic sentences, each highlighting a particular consideration or set of considerations the research findings suggest for informing the citizenship education curriculum decisions of education leaders, managers, and policymakers in the United States.

A. The findings suggest that citizenship education provided in more specific contexts may enhance students' ability to make informed choices, enabling better appreciation of the implications of their choices, thereby enhancing personal autonomy.

B. The findings suggest that equality of opportunity for informed, active, and reflective participation in the role of citizen in a pluralistic political community may be enhanced by citizenship education that has comparatively little regard for pluralism as an intrinsic good.

C. The findings suggest that philosophically perfectionist citizenship education and philosophically neutral citizenship education may have very different challenges and have to find very different ways to encourage active citizenship and enhance students' sense of personal autonomy.

D. The findings suggest that philosophically perfectionist citizenship education may equip students with intrinsic abilities that will help them overcome extrinsic barriers more than a philosophically neutral curriculum does.

E. The findings suggest that philosophically perfectionist citizenship education may enable students to be better rational interlocutors in the political process than a philosophically neutral curriculum does.

F. The findings suggest that a philosophically perfectionist citizenship education curriculum might enable directed reflection better than a philosophically neutral curriculum does, thereby enhancing personal autonomy.

G. The findings suggest that a philosophically perfectionist citizenship education curriculum might enable better appreciation of inequalities, and thereby better quality reflection on the reasons behind and possible remedies for those inequalities, than a philosophically neutral curriculum does.

H. The findings suggest that a philosophically perfectionist citizenship education curriculum might enable better appreciation of mental coherence than a philosophically neutral curriculum does.

In turn, then:

A. The findings suggest that citizenship education provided in more specific contexts may enhance students' ability to make informed choices, enabling better appreciation of the implications of their choices, thereby enhancing personal autonomy.

Philosophical neutrality in citizenship education emphasizes the importance of pluralism, to the point where some philosophers suggest that neutrality is in fact another form of perfectionism, where perfection is a recognition of neutrality as the perfectionist end (Wall & Klosko, 2003, pp. 13-15). However, to educate for citizenship in such a way that emphasizes reasons why respect for kinds of pluralism is an ultimate goal of such education is perhaps to weaken in the students' minds a sense of context for that respect that would enhance students' abilities to reason why

certain kinds of ways of being in community should neither be respected nor tolerated.

An analogy from geology might serve to illustrate the importance of context for understanding. When an inexperienced geology student who knows what kinds of rocks are located in a particular area on a field trip is assigned the task of collecting what geologists call a suite of rocks from a specified area in order to obtain an initial geological picture of that area, the inexperienced student may just gather willy-nilly a bag of rocks that look interesting for no particular reason other than they are of clearly different kinds. The student has, then, done nothing more than gather a bag of rocks, due to the fact that the student did not contextualize each rock in terms of its relation to its surroundings. The suite of rocks thus described may yield useful data about the area but not enable a coherent picture from which to base further research decisions. However, the experienced geologist will understand the importance of context in selecting the rocks in the suite. “To a field geologist, as much as a sociologist,” writes historian and planetary scientist Andrew Chaikin in describing how, in the 1970s, geologist Leo Silver schooled moon-bound NASA astronauts in the importance of context when selecting lunar samples, “context is crucial. Rocks, like people [or political communities, for that matter] are a lot easier to understand when you know where they came from and who they grew up with” (Chaikin, 1998, p. 406). As an experienced geologist learns to look at what seems to be a “random jumble” of rocks on the ground and “see order—or organization, as Silver liked to say” (Chaikin, 1998, p. 405), the student of citizenship in a perfectionist classroom may be better positioned than the student in a neutral classroom to see the so-called

big picture of order and organization when comparing and contrasting the many different ways of understanding one's relationship to the community, primarily due to the greater emphasis on context that perfectionist citizenship education demands.

The effect of greater perfectionist emphasis on context when discussing competing conceptions of citizenship may be most visible in the survey data when one considers the importance of an appreciation of context for the understanding of law—a subject that, at least as far as the survey data indicate, students in perfectionist citizenship education programs might understand better than their counterparts in neutral citizenship education programs. Different kinds of perfectionisms give students different kinds of reasons for preferring one way of living in community over another, grounded in different conceptions of right and good that are themselves based on different conceptions of the nature, scope, and attributes of law. That students in perfectionist citizenship education programs grapple with competing conceptions of the nature, scope, and attributes of law to a greater extent than students in neutral citizenship education programs may be a reasonable inference, given the perfectionist demand (or at least desire) for the student to declare some sort of preference of one conception over others. It is reasonable to suppose that this sort of declaration will manifest itself in the students' minds only after they contextualize what they think of as law against the sociocultural milieu in which they are immersed.

Legal scholars and philosophers of law Hyman Gross and Joel Feinberg note in their *Philosophy of Law* that, since “law is the ultimate social recourse of civilized men when claims are in conflict...standards bearing the authority of the state are the last resort” when “lawlike things of other sorts, such as standards of customary

practice, moral precepts, by-laws, and private regulations” fail to enable people to “regulate their affairs” (Gross & Feinberg, 1975, p. 3). This is not to say that the aforementioned “lawlike things” are unimportant—for Gross and Feinberg, or for the rest of us—it is, however, to say that, since perfectionist citizenship education programs weigh (although, of course, they differ in how they weigh) “standards bearing the authority of the state” vis-à-vis a “lawlike” thing such as the Catholic “moral precepts and private regulations” regarding sex, for example, in a way that neutral citizenship education programs will not weigh these normative concepts, perfectionist citizenship education is deeply contextualized in its approach to law, and that context perhaps gives the student a much more well-rounded appreciation of how law and other important norms other than law work together in maintaining societal order than neutral citizenship education.

B. The findings suggest that equality of opportunity for informed, active, and reflective participation in the role of citizen in a pluralistic political community may be enhanced by citizenship education that has comparatively little regard for pluralism as an intrinsic good.

Philosophers from de Tocqueville to Dewey to Rawls to Walzer have extolled the virtue of pluralism as one of the foundational commitments of liberal democracy—more specifically, American democracy. However, the research data provide empirical grounds for reinforcing the intuitive irony expressed in Chapter 3 that the better training ground for the pluralist mind might be a perfectionist citizenship education. This dynamic is evident as a thread that runs through the eight separate discussions in this section responding to Research Question 4. The over-arching

question concerning the citizenship education curriculum decisions of education leaders, managers, and policymakers in the United States is one of how educators in public schools might access some of the private school perfectionist teaching strategies in a philosophically neutral learning environment. This question will be addressed further in Chapter 5.

C. The findings suggest that philosophically perfectionist citizenship education and philosophically neutral citizenship education may have very different challenges, and have to find very different ways, to encourage active citizenship and enhance students' sense of personal autonomy.

The root issue here is that, at the core, philosophical neutrality may be argued to be essentially defending and advocating a process, while philosophical perfectionism may be argued to be defending and advocating a product. Thus, citizenship educators in both paradigms, both concerned with active citizenship and both looking for ways to structure curriculum to encourage active citizenship (Barber & Battistoni, 1993; Battistoni & Hudson, 1997; Guttman, 1987; Kedrowski, 2003; Reidel, 2003; Torney & Oppenheim, 1975), can take into account philosophical considerations when studying this issue, albeit in different ways.

In his 2004 *Politics and Passion*, philosopher Michael Walzer characterizes as the “unavoidable political question” that of “Which side are you on?” (Walzer, 2004, p. 126). Perfectionist or neutral, citizenship education is significantly about—not “essentially” about, for, like Walzer, the researcher has “never been drawn to essentialist definitions of anything”—making choices (Walzer, 2004, p. 118). The perfectionists in some important relevant ways may have an advantage over the

neutralists, for they can perhaps more directly draw upon both rational and passionate motivators in their efforts to graduate students who will evaluate various modes of citizenship and claim preference for the one advocated by the perfectionist curriculum as the best. At a base level, one can simply examine the pictures in perfectionist-oriented school catalogues, each in their own way suggesting (intuitively, passionately, rather than rationally through explicit argument) to prospective students that they should want *to be like* the smartly uniformed cadet from NYMA, the robed scholarship recipient graduating from the Maclay School, or the Bible-holding student peer group leader shown leading a song at Burke Catholic High School. Perfectionisms begin with an end in mind in ways that neutral curricula find it difficult to match in terms of clarity and cohesion, rationally or passionately. The worst kinds of perfectionisms, as Walzer points out, are based more upon “beliefs, doctrines, dogmas, and ideologies” than upon rationally grounded “convictions” (Walzer, 2004, p. 114); however, in the arena of genuinely philosophical perfectionist citizenship education, the best educators will seek to ground students’ particular doctrinal belief—whether that doctrine be a military school honor code, or a conception of what God wants, grounded in a text held to be sacred—in rational argument that has been thoroughly compared and contrasted with other conceptual schemes in the course of the education process. The graduate of a perfectionist citizenship education program is, ideally, convicted: rationally so (Walzer, 2004, p. 113). Such rationally convicted perfectionist-grounded people are perhaps more easily motivated to active citizenship than neutrally grounded people—taking active roles in community to promote the values of community as they understand them, at

least in part to help ensure that other, less desirable, values do not gain a foothold in *their* community.

Neutralists have their own pictures to print in catalogues, and certainly have convictions; however, they are perhaps harder to stage, articulate, and interpret than perfectionist ones. If life is better to the extent the state is, as philosopher Robert Nozick argues in *Anarchy, State and Utopia*, “minimal” (Nozick, 1974, p. 274), in education as in everything else, what does that minimalism *look like* when an educator is attempting to inspire students? Who does (should) a neutralist want to *be like*? Modern liberal political theory manifests itself in the practice of citizenship education in United States public schools by offering the student a conception of a citizen who is perhaps first and foremost a skeptic. As Walzer points out, echoing de Tocqueville and others, “[d]emocracy requires deliberation, which is to say, a culture of argument, and it requires a body of citizens who are open, at least in principle (and some of the time in practice), to the best arguments (Walzer, 2004, p. 107). Just as strongly as a perfectionist-oriented citizenship education program, a neutralist one can potentially “introduce a certain [perhaps strong and pervasive] measure of calm reflection and reasoned argument into...the work of political education...Similarly, we can imagine [neutrally educated and deeply] reflective men and women, who aim at proposals that are morally justified and economically realistic [working together in a way that privileges] try[ing] to understand and accommodate the interests of [the others as they advocate] their own” (Walzer, 2004, pp. 107-108).

Whereas the overriding message of neutralist citizenship education is clear—the best way for a pluralist democracy to survive is for citizens to behave socially and

politically as if there were no best way for a pluralist democracy to survive—this rubric suggests a willingness to engage in a continuous enlightened casuistry that, as Dewey adroitly pointed out, the public may not be at any given time motivated to engage in, thereby weakening democracy and leaving it susceptible to more perfectionist—and perhaps less democratic or enlightened—passions. The literal picture, too, may be easier to imagine than suggested earlier: a school committed first and foremost to equality and diversity might offer as a signature image a group of students (men and women, perhaps older and younger, of different racial-ethnic backgrounds, perhaps some even clad in religiously significant garments) talking in a circle, each holding a copy of Rawls’s *A Theory of Justice*. It intuitively seems harder, though, for neutrally committed educators to inspire passion in students for the promulgation of equality and diversity as ends in themselves through active citizenship the way that perfectionist educators are able to inspire passion for ends toward which some measure of equality and diversity, among other goods, might be beneficial.

Hard—but not impossible. Rawls might provide the definitive modern attempt in *A Theory of Justice*. Grounded in the first principle that “[e]ach person is to have an equal right to the most extensive total system of equal basic liberties compatible with a similar system of liberty for all” (Rawls, 1999, p. 220), Rawls’s theory is highly intuitionist. In his view, a “social system regulated by justice as fairness, identification with the good of others, and an appreciation of what they do as an element in our own good [is efficacious only because] of the mutuality already implicit in [his stated] principles of justice” (Rawls, 1999, p. 438). Referring to the

emotional and psychological security provided to the individual within a collective founded on his principles, Rawls offers that people can, in his system, “develop a secure sense of their own worth that forms the basis of love for humankind” (Rawls, 1999, p. 438). This love, he argues, manifests a genuine altruism in people that, combined with “the clarity of the moral conception and the attractiveness of its ideals” (Rawls, 1999, p. 438), makes justice as fairness more philosophically clear in practice than rival (perfectionist) schemes, in which the grounding for particular decisions can be more “vague and amorphous” (Rawls, 1999, p. 439). Rawls notes how it “is easier to ascertain when the equal liberties are infringed and to establish discrepancies from the difference principle [demanding that inequalities are only just if they work toward the maximum benefit of the least advantaged] than it is to decide [for example, in a utilitarian perfectionist scheme] whether unequal treatment increases social welfare” (Rawls, 1999, p. 439).

Rawls’s account of human moral reasoning relies heavily on moral psychology, advocating a kind of natural law foundation that posits his “principles of justice [as] closer to the tendency of evolution than [more teleological doctrines, from which perfectionisms arise] (Rawls, 1999, p. 440. See also the entire discussion of relative stability in Section 76, pp. 434-441). Implicitly critiquing behaviorist education [further implying a critique of perfectionisms, which are largely behaviorist in character], Rawls demands that moral education [of which education for citizenship is a part] must be “as reasoned as the development of understanding permits, just as the natural duty of mutual respect requires...[where] [n]one of the ideals, principles, and precepts upheld in the society takes unfair advantage of human weakness” (Rawls,

1999, p. 452). The “process of education,” says Rawls, cannot be “simply a causal sequence intended to bring about as an end result the proper moral [or other] sentiments” (Rawls, 1999, p. 452).

For their many disagreements, Rawls and Nozick, as neutrally committed philosophers, share a deep concern about state paternalism, and ways in which that paternalism may violate, in Rawls’s words, “the integrity of [persons] and their final ends and beliefs, whatever these are” (Rawls, 1999, p. 220). Where appropriate, paternalistic methods (including citizenship education methods) are “a protection against our own irrationality” (Rawls, 1999, p. 220). However, government-sponsored motivations toward active citizenship—or any other activity—must not, in Nozick’s words (themselves congruent with Rawls’s) fail to treat people respectfully, “respecting...rights, [allowing us as citizens] to choose our life and to realize our ends and our conception of ourselves, insofar as we can, aided by the voluntary cooperation of other individuals possessing the same dignity. How *dare* any state...do more. Or less”(Nozick, 1974, p. 334).

The purpose of this discussion has not been to attempt a full—or even partial—philosophical accounting of the ways in which neutrally committed and perfectionist educators can or should motivate their students to active citizenship as free autonomous individuals. The purpose here has been merely to suggest ways that philosophical orientation in citizenship education, once realized as one of many ways that citizenship education programs can be differentiated, gives rise to another dimension of the existing discussion concerning how to best promote active citizenship in the polity through education.

D. The findings suggest that philosophically perfectionist citizenship education may equip students with intrinsic abilities that will help them overcome extrinsic barriers more than a philosophically neutral curriculum does.

Equality is a concern of both philosophically perfectionist and neutrally committed citizenship educators. It is too simplistic to attempt to argue that perfectionism is more concerned with equality of means (as in advocacy of a society in which all persons have equal opportunities to become competitive for the available goods, or accept what are deemed to be the appropriate attributes and skills for flourishing in whatever particular version of perfectionism is offered) while neutrality is more concerned with equality of ends (as in Rawls's framework, where the maximin principle advocates a social end state that to an extent governs the process of choosing individual paths). However, one can see that perfectionisms, with their teleological orientation, accept kinds of inequalities between persons as persons that the deontological neutral theories reject.

If, as the data suggest, philosophically perfectionist citizenship education hones logical reasoning and higher order analytical abilities better than neutrally oriented citizenship education—primarily due to the perfectionist emphasis on evaluating, taking, and defending positions on ways of understanding citizenship—then it is reasonable to suppose that this advantage justifies (or at least potentially justifies) societal inequalities in ways that may evoke (subtly or overtly) forms of social Darwinism. The discussion of military schools in Chapter 3 illuminated this concern theoretically, and the research data reinforce the concern empirically: awareness of philosophical orientation in citizenship education programs can facilitate a frank

discussion of curricular characterization of equality (definition and scope) in educators' curricular decisions about the formal curriculum, educators' awareness of and control over the informal curriculum, and educators' willingness to challenge the assumptions of the hidden curriculum in citizenship education (English & Larson, 1996, pp. 9-10).

E. The findings suggest that philosophically perfectionist citizenship education may enable students to be better rational interlocutors in the political process than a philosophically neutral curriculum does.

If, as the data suggest, perfectionist-educated students are potentially more adept at participation in the political process, and therefore (at least potentially) enjoy access to status within that process that it will be much harder for neutrally educated students to attain, this inequality (which manifests itself in the data showing private school students performing better on "hard" questions at a statistically significant level, and in private school means on "evaluate, take, and defend a position" questions that are noteworthy if not statistically significant) may come from perfectionism's deeper development of a kind of logical grammar in students that is akin to linguistic or moral grammar—a development that, as in the development of linguistic or moral grammar, relies heavily on the use of analogies in educating concepts.

Linguist Noam Chomsky first proposed in his 1957 *Syntactic Structures* that linguistics was essentially "a branch of cognitive psychology which studies the mental structures responsible for linguistic competence" (Smith, 1995, p. 133). Chomsky's theory of linguistic competence elicits "judgments from speakers about

which strings of words belong to their language (i.e. which strings they find grammatical), then construct[s] a grammar that generates all and only those grammar strings” (Smith, 1995, p. 133). For Chomsky, “grammar” refers to “both the theory formulated by the linguist and an internal component of the speaker-hearer’s mind” (Smith, 1995, p. 133). Further, “[b]ecause the grammatical rules and principles are not consciously known [when people, usually by the age of four, regardless of culture, Chomsky’s exhaustive research shows, begin using language] and cannot be explicitly stated by the speaker-hearer, Chomsky infers that they must be “unconsciously, tacitly known” (Smith, 1995, p. 133) through what he calls a language faculty (Hauser, 2006, p. 37) in the mind.

Using Chomsky’s theory of linguistic competence as a model, Marc Hauser constructs in *Moral Minds* a theory of moral competence based on the Chomsky-esque notion that, since we obviously “know more than our actions reveal” (Hauser, 2006, p. 37) in moral decision making as we do in using language, there is in the human mind an innate kind of moral “knowing [based on] unconscious principles that underlie [moral]...comprehension [as well as the comprehension of] mathematics, music, [and] object perception” (Hauser, 2006, p. 37). Analogizing the fact that, when “we speak, we don’t think about the principles that order the words in a sentence, the fact that certain words fall into abstract categories such as nouns, pronouns, and verbs” (Hauser, 2006, p. 37) and other technical matters to the way we arrive at moral judgments, Hauser argues that we intuitively have the capacity to understand right and wrong long before we begin to understand any particular justificatory logical arguments for right and wrong in particular contexts. As people

comprehend the meaning of sentences independently of any comprehension of syntax, Hauser explicates a biological and psychological theory of moral judgment that empirically reinforces Rawls's philosophical suggestions in *A Theory of Justice* concerning the idea that we "deliver moral verdicts based on unconscious and inaccessible principles [which amount to] moral instincts" (Hauser, 2006, p. 42).

Following Hauser (and Rawls, and Chomsky), then, the fact that the research data show perfectionism to correlate with higher student ability to correctly answer questions about law on the NAEP exam suggests that perfectionism might sharpen students' abilities to employ the universal logical "grammar"—which can reasonably be presumed to be linked to Hauser's universal moral grammar and Chomsky's universal linguistic grammar—better than neutrally educated students. Better access—conscious and unconscious—to the patterns and structures that underlie law enables more logically grounded (and thereby more conceptually and perhaps even more verbally articulate) participation in the political process as an active citizen of the community.

Noted evolutionary biologist Richard Dawkins characterizes "any process in which 'the more you have, the more you get' [as a] self-feeding [process]" (Dawkins, 1998, p. 290). Following Dawkins, one might suggest that the mental processes involved in the access and employment of logical "grammar" are more self-feeding if exercised in a perfectionist educational environment than if exercised in a neutrally committed one. Perfectionism might enhance self-feeding logical faculties by generating stronger memes, which are defined by Dawkins as "anything that replicates itself from brain to brain, via any available means of copying" (Dawkins,

1998, p. 303). Perfectionist programs guide students to evaluate and prefer among a host of choices. Once a mode of relation to the community is chosen, the perfectionist education reinforces it, moving the student from an external to an internal point of view regarding the chosen conception of citizen, solidifying the student's own sense of ownership of values and opinions—in effect, solidifying a sense of personal identity, and thus better equipping the student to engage in the ever-important subject—subject relationships described at the very beginning of this dissertation (Freire, 1987, p. 4).

F. The findings suggest that a philosophically perfectionist citizenship education curriculum might enable directed reflection better than a philosophically neutral curriculum does, thereby enhancing personal autonomy.

G. The findings suggest that a philosophically perfectionist citizenship education curriculum might enable better appreciation of inequalities, and thereby better quality reflection on the reasons behind and possible remedies for those inequalities, than a philosophically neutral curriculum does.

H. The findings suggest that a philosophically perfectionist citizenship education curriculum might enable better appreciation of mental coherence than a philosophically neutral curriculum does.

The preceding three topic sentences, all discussing the correlation between reflective citizenship and the notions of freedom, equality, and rationality, highlight the suggestion that perfectionist citizenship education might enhance what social psychologist and philosopher Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi calls “flow” in citizenship, or the “optimal experience” of being a citizen (Csikszentmihalyi, 1991) to a greater

degree than neutrally committed citizenship education does, thereby teaching students not merely how to be more active, reflective, participatory citizens, but how to more thoroughly *appreciate the experience of being* an active, reflective, participatory citizen. For Csikszentmihalyi, the “optimal state of inner experience is one in which there is order in consciousness” (Csikszentmihalyi, 1991, p. 6). Because “[e]verything we experience—joy or pain, interest or boredom—is represented in the mind as information, [control of] this information [will enable us to] decide what our lives will be like” (Csikszentmihalyi, 1991, p. 6). When people are able to experience flow, they “manage to join all experience into a meaningful pattern, [thereby stilling rising expectations, perhaps driven by materialist culture, minimizing the impact of unfulfilled needs, and enabling one to feel] in control of life [in a way that] makes sense” (Csikszentmihalyi, 1991, p. 7). Capitalizing on John Stuart Mill’s idea that “[n]o great improvements in the lot of mankind are possible, until a great change takes place in the fundamental constitution of their modes of thought” (Mill in Csikszentmihalyi, 1991, p. 9), and expounding upon a sophisticated definition of human happiness that has an Aristotelian and Millian pedigree, Csikszentmihalyi emphasizes the importance to the community (as well as the individual) of learning how to order one’s thoughts and experiences through ordered and directed processes such as writing poetry, doing logical puzzles, learning music, and reading philosophy, going so far as to suggest a lineage in analytic thinking from ancient tribal riddling games as “important precursors of systematic knowledge” to philosophy in the modern-day analytic tradition in order to illustrate the deeply rooted linkages between societal mechanisms for teaching how to order in the mind and societal mechanisms

for conceptualizing order in the way we live our lives (Csikszentmihalyi, 1991, p. 122). If, as the data suggest, philosophical perfectionism in citizenship education can sharpen students' abilities to understand the logical structure of law, for example, better than neutrally committed curricula, then perhaps perfectionism better enhances students' abilities to see how the complex milieu of local, state, and federal laws combine with societal conventions and non-legal rules to help all people in community "flow" together, thereby better enabling a satisfying experience of active, reflective, participatory citizenship.

Summary of Chapter 4

In Chapter 4, the researcher presented research findings that posited answers to the four research questions revolving around the problem of identifying and evaluating the relationship between the philosophical orientation of high school citizenship education programs and the kinds of civics competency the students attending those programs manifested on national assessments of civics competency, in order to discern how a particular philosophical orientation in citizenship education correlated with particular kinds of expressions of civics competency. The research questions were

1. What are the principles behind the constructs of perfectionism and neutrality affecting philosophy of education?
2. How can civics competency be defined and articulated for study purposes in order to discern how a particular philosophical orientation in citizenship education correlates with particular expressions of civics competency?

3. What are the quantitative and qualitative aspects of the rubric for expressing relationships between kinds of citizenship education and kinds of civics competency?

4. How might the study results inform the curriculum decisions of education leaders, managers, and policymakers?

The researcher discussed the principles behind the constructs of perfectionism and neutrality affecting philosophy of education as they applied to the imposition of philosophical paradigms on particular kinds of citizenship education programs (Research Question 1). Then, the researcher explicated how one might define and articulate civics competency for study purposes in order to discern how a particular philosophical orientation in citizenship education correlates with particular expressions of civics competency (Research Question 2). The quantitative and qualitative aspects of the rubric for expressing relationships between kinds of citizenship education and kinds of civics competency were expressed through SPSS data and accompanying analysis (Research Question 3). Finally, the researcher discussed ways in which the study results might inform the curriculum decisions of education leaders, managers, and policymakers (Research Question 4).

Chapter 5

This study has suggested complexities in the relationship between philosophical orientation in citizenship education and the ways in which a particular philosophical orientation may influence cognitive development. On the one hand, philosophical perfectionism may seem to demand in students a greater level of analytical rigor in students because of the ways it advocates a preference for one way of life in a political community. On the other hand, philosophical neutrality may seem to demand a greater level of analytical rigor in students because it presents a plethora of ways of understanding life in a political community in their best possible light without attempting to tilt the student toward any preference but that of further investigation. This study has also suggested ways in which a researcher might use existing data from nationally administered civics assessments to indicate directions for further research. One primary limitation of existing research is the lack of philosophical orientation in the research itself—a limitation that can be overcome by allowing philosophically-trained researchers to craft philosophically-oriented assessments. This chapter delineates some possible avenues for further exploration into the complicated landscape of citizenship education, both within the United States and between countries worldwide.

Recommendations for Further Research, Summary, and Conclusion

In light of the increasing interdependence of nation-states and the increasingly global sociocultural milieu students find themselves in, the researcher recommends as a research recommendation more federally sponsored and privately funded research into citizenship education paradigms worldwide. Such research might be organized

around or lead toward international conferences on citizenship education that themselves could be vehicles for increased international dialogue concerning cosmopolitan values and ethics—especially if such venues were consistently funded and held annually.

One cannot assume that people from different countries interpret basic conceptions of citizenship the same way, even when espousing shared values and goals in citizenship education. Comparative education research into contemporary norms of citizenship education using a philosophical rubric for locating relationships between key citizenship concepts (this researcher has suggested only one such rubric) is one fruitful method of establishing the groundwork—or, at the very least, identifying some obstacles—for authentic subject—subject relationships across cultures. A model for this sort of international study is the wide-ranging four-country study of teachers' perceptions of citizenship education published in 2005 by Hong Kong University Press as *Education for Social Citizenship*.

In light of the fascinating implications of the NAEP Civics Assessment data for illuminating the impact of philosophical orientation on student achievement, the researcher recommends as a practice recommendation that future NAEP Civics Assessments be re-imagined such that the impact of philosophical orientation on curriculum can be more easily correlated with student achievement. With the aid of educators conversant in philosophical discourse, NAEP personnel could craft questions intended to illuminate aspects of perfectionism or neutrality. Further, NAEP Civics Assessment data could be organized more clearly in terms of their differentiation between kinds of non-public schools. The rubrics for the choices

made in that differentiation could be provided in the technical report. At the very least, this would prevent future researchers from having to make assumptions as to why the data were constructed a certain way, or why certain categories of school were delineated as separate categories (such as Catholic schools) and some were not (such as non-Catholic religious schools and military schools).

The NAEP or another educational research organization could even design a citizenship education assessment vehicle specifically intended to make students address philosophical issues concerning such subjects as socioeconomic class, gender, and value in relation to civics subjects such as law and governmental structure. This kind of assessment could complement and inform the growing attention to citizenship and moral education in higher education exemplified by the five-year, twelve-school collegiate study under the auspices of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, published in 2003 as *Educating Citizens: Preparing America's Undergraduates for Lives of Moral and Civic Responsibility*.

Finally, the NAEP or another educational research organization could sponsor longitudinal studies designed to examine the long-term relationship between attendance in a particular high school citizenship education program (perfectionist or neutral) and the kinds of values, beliefs, and practices students adopt as they move forward through life. This kind of study might be a sort of ethnography of perfectionism and neutrality within a political community.

Is there a relationship between the philosophical orientation of high school citizenship education programs and the kinds of civics competency the students

attending those programs manifested on national assessments of civics competency?

Yes. Is that relationship easy to define, delimit, and deconstruct in discussion for future application by education leaders, managers, and policymakers? No. Perhaps the most intriguing aspect of this research for me has been the opportunity to discover the myriad ways in which what appear initially as binary oppositions—such as between perfectionism and neutrality, between public and private schools, between commitments to singular teleological ends and commitments to pluralistic deontological ends, and between reason and passion (intuition)—are in fact areas of intersection that reinforce Michael Walzer’s call for a “political theory, and a politics [including, in my mind, a political theory and politics of education], as complicated as our own lives” (Walzer, 2004, p. 140).

While this dissertation is not strictly a work of philosophical scholarship, I have attempted to employ the analytical tools and argumentative language of philosophy to illuminate the ways in which educators are immersed in philosophical discourse whether they recognize it or not—perhaps uniquely so in the area of citizenship education. Further, I have attempted to illuminate the ways in which the coordinate at which a particular citizenship education program is located in the complicated philosophical terrain spanning radical perfectionism and radical neutrality affects the entire experience of that curriculum—formal, informal, and hidden—for teachers and students alike.

While much of the preceding discussion has focused on areas of tension and dissonance, areas of competition and contrast, between ways and means of educating for citizenship, I think it appropriate to end the discussion on a note of harmony and

unity. In public or private venues, perfectionist or neutrally committed, we educators share a core common commitment to the claim that we have a vital—not merely significant, important, or productive, but absolutely vital—role to play in socializing students toward the role of informed, active, and reflective citizens who will strengthen and promote core democratic values, beliefs, and institutions, each in unique ways.

Determining philosophical orientation in citizenship education is an activity with moral import for the individual and the collective; hence, this discussion has proceeded in largely moral terms. The discussion here has noted how Hauser and his kin in the expanding field of moral psychology have recently displayed intriguing empirical data that reinforce philosophically intuitionist notions of human endowment with “a moral instinct, a faculty of the human mind that unconsciously guides our judgments concerning right and wrong, establishing a range of learnable moral systems, each with a set of shared and unique signatures” (Hauser, 2006, p. 425). These data may seem to tilt the discussion of philosophical orientation in citizenship education toward a neutral commitment, as “the notion of a universal moral grammar with parametric variation...favor[s] a pluralistic position [and] requires us to [try to] understand how, in development, particular parameters are fixed by experience [further requiring us to] appreciate that, once fixed, we may be as perplexed by another community’s [or, by implication, another person’s] moral system as we are by their language” (Hauser, 2006, pp. 425-426). In this view, advocacy of any sort of perfectionist *telos* in citizenship seems to be virtually un-natural.

A commitment to pluralism, though—which Americans Rawls, Dewey, Walzer, and even outside observer de Tocqueville have characterized as the bedrock of democracy as we know it—requires a citizenry capable of what sociobiologist E. O. Wilson describes as a demanding “open discussion and unwavering intellectual rigor in an atmosphere of mutual respect” (Wilson, 1999, p. 290). Ironically, some of the data in this study suggest that it is not beyond the realm of plausibility that philosophical perfectionism in the classroom could provide students the kind of rigorously analytical discourse environment upon which a sustained commitment to neutrality outside the classroom might depend.

Perhaps philosophical perfectionism is rule-informed or rule-characterized in such a way that it develops logical faculties earlier and in a deeper way in students’ minds than philosophical neutrality when used as a base for citizenship education. The fact that the data correlate philosophically perfectionist citizenship education with higher rates of student success on “hard” questions—which in this data set dealt mainly with issues of law—than philosophically neutral citizenship education may suggest an important cognitive payout of perfectionism; namely, that its mandate for explicit comparison of ways to consider the role of citizen may enhance cognitive abilities in a way that comparison-free citizenship education does not, thereby enhancing students’ ability to grasp the logical patterns behind rules and better appreciate the patterns of logic itself.ⁱⁱⁱ

Perhaps one way perfectionism enhances citizenship education is the way its demanding comparisons between competing modes of citizenship focus the students’ attention. In his 1927 *The Public and its Problems*, Dewey laments the way modern

technology has “rendered easy and cheap beyond anything known in the past” public “access to means of amusement” (Dewey, 1954, p. 139). In Dewey’s view, the mass production and distribution of radio, film, and print entertainment seriously weakens political community in the United States because it “divert[s] attention from political interests [in a way that] crowd[s] to one side...the political elements in the constitution of the human being” (Dewey, 1954, p. 139). Dewey observes how “in most circles it is hard work to sustain conversation on a political theme; and once initiated, it is quickly dismissed with a yawn” (Dewey, 1954, p. 139). If one agrees with Dewey that the polity’s best hope to offset distraction of the citizenry is to create conditions—in the classroom, foremost among places—for the “tranquil stability” needed for the nourishing of the relationships that breed authentic attachments based on rational commitments to values, beliefs, institutions, and other people (Dewey, 1954, p. 141), then one might argue for a philosophically perfectionist citizenship education program that constantly affirms one way of being in a community by comparing and contrasting it with other ways.

Obviously, today’s plethora of media access devices and outlets exacerbates the problems Dewey discusses to degrees he could not have imagined; however, perhaps Dewey misses the point that educators could in his time and can now craft citizenship education to leverage toward better student focus the same technologies that may otherwise distract; in a sea of choices, perfectionism that leverages technology to guide students toward preferring one way of living their lives over many others, in an environment which encourages the maximal use of all available information access resources to provide bases of comparison, may be a fruitful avenue for educators who

may lament student disengagement from and sense of alienation toward the political process.

In ending the discussion with a suggestion that a principal task for education leaders, managers, and policymakers is to imagine how to unite the analytical rigor of a philosophically perfectionist curriculum with the enlightened commitment to pluralism in a neutral one, I offer that, perhaps more than anything else, the *awareness of the tension between perfectionism and neutrality* in citizenship education (over and above any characteristic of perfectionism or neutrality themselves) might be best utilized as what philosopher Daniel Dennett calls an “intuition pump” (Dennett, 1984, p. 17): a theoretical construct akin to Plato’s cave, Heidegger’s Dasein, or Rawls’s Original Position which, as one of what Dennett calls “the enduring melodies of philosophy” (Dennett, 1984, p. 17), can be a “powerful pedagogical device” (Dennett, 1984, p. 18) for clarifying how educators might best help students become citizens who will, in the words of philosopher Samuel Scheffler, encourage “decent human beings to contribute to the development of societies in which it may be easier for rational agents to be decent human beings” (Scheffler, 1992, p. 145).

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Footnotes

Footnotes

¹I use the term “neutralist” to differentiate the strain of political theory that stands opposed to perfectionism in its claims about the role of the state in advocating conceptions of the good and the right. More broadly, one might use the term “non-perfectionist” to denote a person opposed to perfectionism defined a certain way; however, my discussion requires a positive identification that implicitly acknowledges a single general oppositional framework to perfectionism cohering around the claim that the state ought to be consistently neutral in its advocacy of any particular conception of the good and the right, advocating instead only the political and social framework within which individuals can create and live within conceptions of the good and the right they consciously choose. Neutralists must, at the meta-ethical level, acknowledge that the claim that the aforementioned state-advocated political and social framework is itself good and right implies some sort of meta-ethical commitment to a kind of perfectionism—perhaps best defended in natural law terms; however, I will assume at the outset that it is not one of my purposes to critique the philosophical underpinnings of neutrality in the hopes of exposing it as less defensible than perfectionism. Since it is my purpose to explicate the normative implications of both the neutralist and perfectionist positions for education leadership, management, and policy, I must acknowledge that, empirically, there are education policies and programs in place in the United States that can be fundamentally differentiated by their explicitly or implicitly expressed foundational commitments to one of these positions, further acknowledging that foundational commitments to one may allow for some expression of the other in its particularities.

ⁱⁱ I am indebted to Dr. Melissa Bergeron, Assistant Professor of Philosophy, United States Military Academy, for this precise insight, and for her assistance in conceptualizing this section of the discussion.

ⁱⁱⁱ I am indebted to Dr. Melissa Bergeron, Assistant Professor of Philosophy, United States Military Academy, for the phrase “cognitive payout, and for her assistance in conceptualizing the discussion in C as a whole.

Appendix A

/U> is about the quotation below.

"Absolute arbitrary power, or governing without settled laws, can neither of them be consistent with the ends of society and government."

- John Locke

1. Which of the following statements is most consistent with the Locke quotation above?

- A) Weak government is worse than no government.
- B) Governmental power should be limited.
- C) Laws should never be changed.
- D) Only wise people can exercise power.

The following question is about the quotation below.

"Absolute arbitrary power, or governing without settled laws, can neither of them be consistent with the ends of society and government."

- John Locke

2. List two ways the American system of government is designed to prevent "absolute arbitrary power" and "governing without settled laws."

1.

2.

The following question refers to the quotation below.

I often wondered whether we do not rest our hopes too much upon constitutions, upon laws and upon courts. These are false hopes; believe me, these are false hopes. Liberty lives in the hearts of men and women; when it dies there, no constitution, no law, no court can save it.

- Judge Learned Hand, 1941

3. Which of the following best summarizes Judge Hand's argument about constitutional democracy in

the United States?

- A) Constitutions are a serious obstacle to individual liberties.
- B) Constitutions allow governments to disregard individual liberties.
- C) Individual liberties depend on citizens committed to the protection of those liberties.
- D) Individual liberties can only be safeguarded by a written constitution and an independent judiciary.

The following question refers to the quotation below.

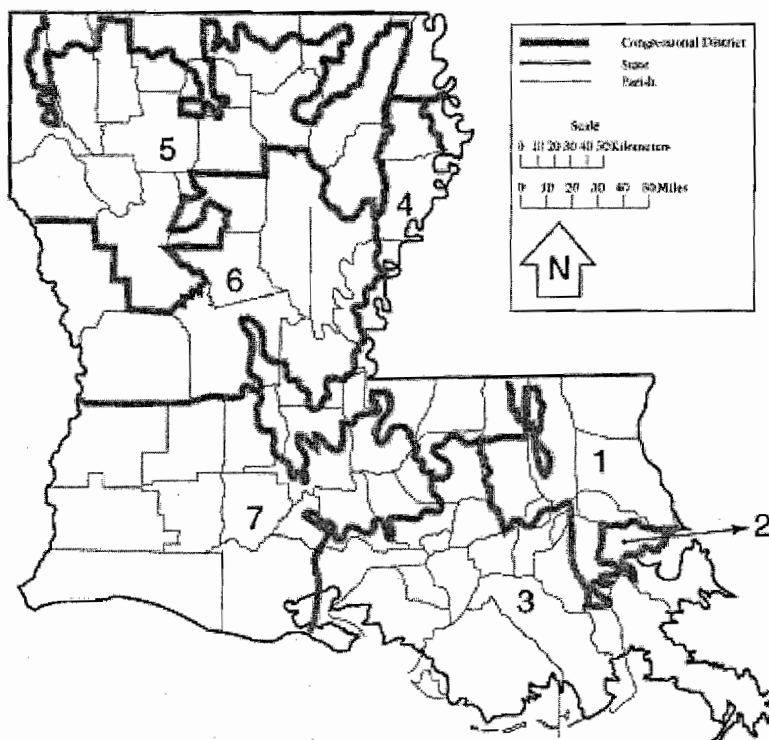
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- Judge Learned Hand, 1941

4. It can be concluded from the quotation that Judge Hand believed it was most important that citizens

- A) vote for candidates who support their views
- B) rely on the courts to safeguard their rights
- C) amend the Constitution whenever necessary
- D) protect their freedoms through political participation

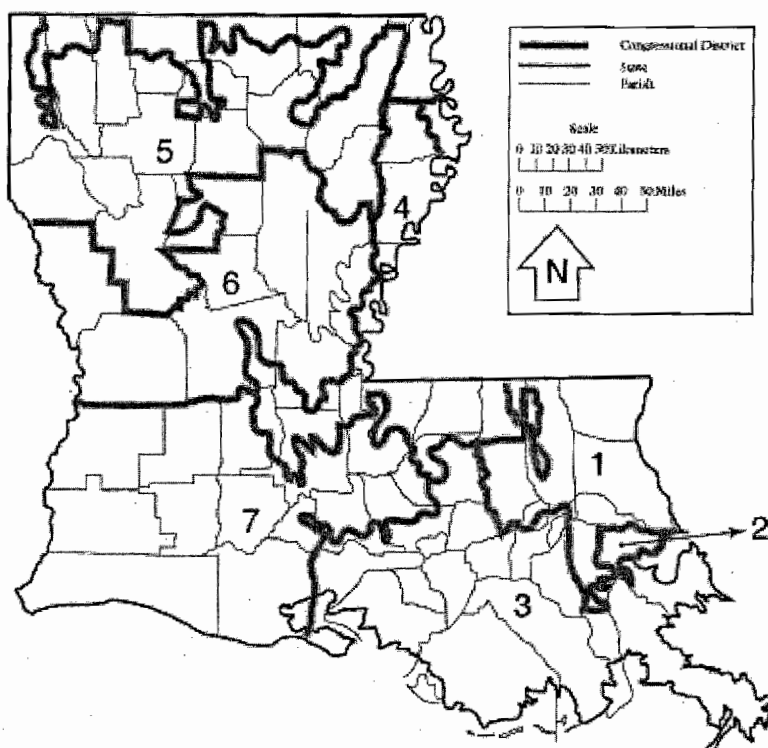
The following question refers to the map below, which shows congressional districts in Louisiana. The numbers on the map refer to congressional districts.



5. The congressional district boundaries shown on the map were probably drawn by the

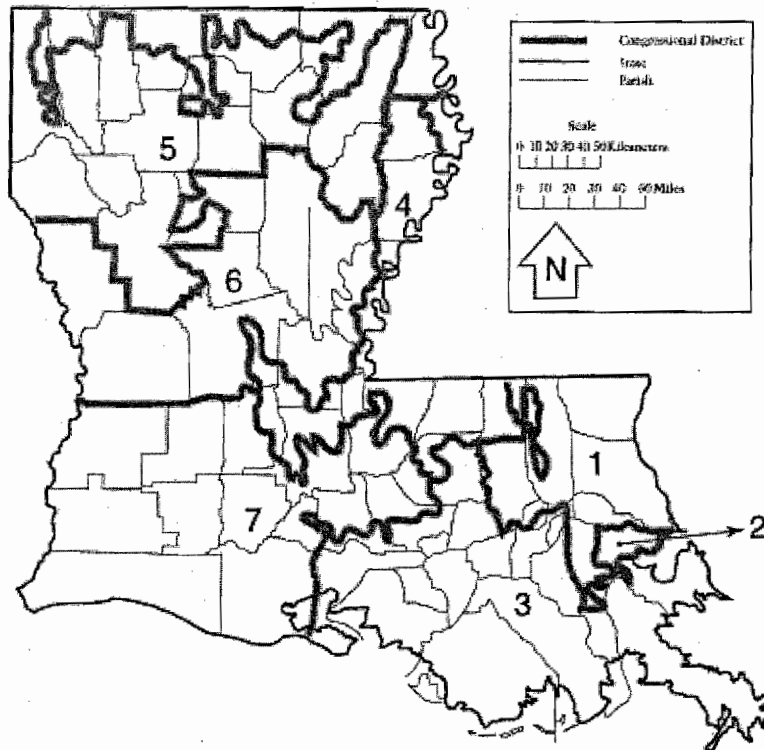
- A) state constitutional convention
- B) United States Congress
- C) Federal Election Commission
- D) Louisiana state legislature

The following question refers to the map below, which shows congressional districts in Louisiana. The numbers on the map refer to congressional districts.



6. Which of the following would best explain why there may be more than seven congressional districts in Louisiana in the year 2002?
- A) The state legislature votes to increase the number of representatives to give the state more decision-making power.
 - B) The year 2000 census indicates that the population of Louisiana increased proportionately more than that of other states.
 - C) The Supreme Court decides to increase the number of representatives in all southern states.
 - D) Citizens of Louisiana vote yes on a referendum to increase the number of representatives in Congress.

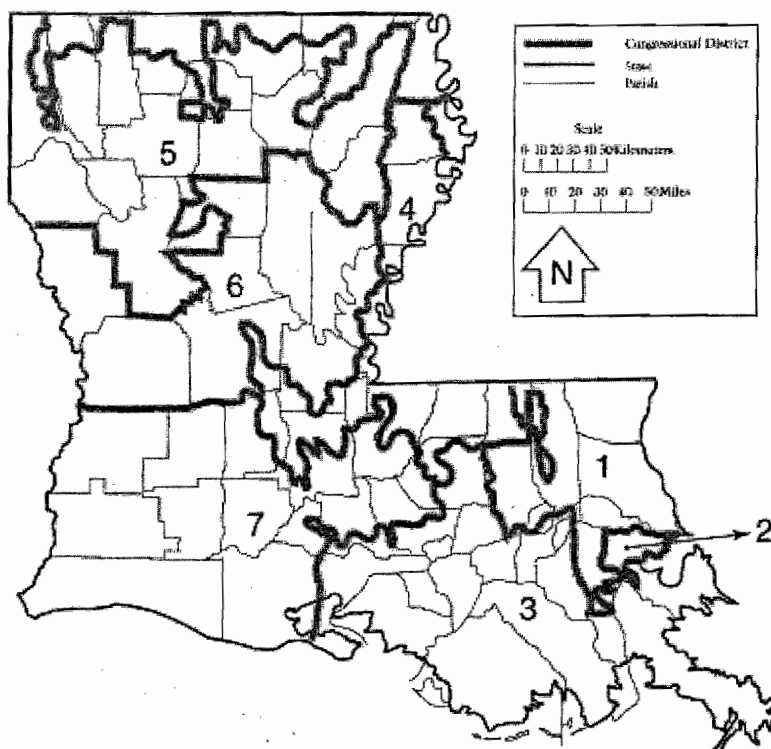
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7. From the map, you can conclude that congressional district 2 must

- A) include a large urban area
- B) have fewer people than the other districts
- C) have been drawn to protect an incumbent
- D) be a very old congressional district

The following question refers to the map below, which shows congressional districts in Louisiana. The numbers on the map refer to congressional districts.



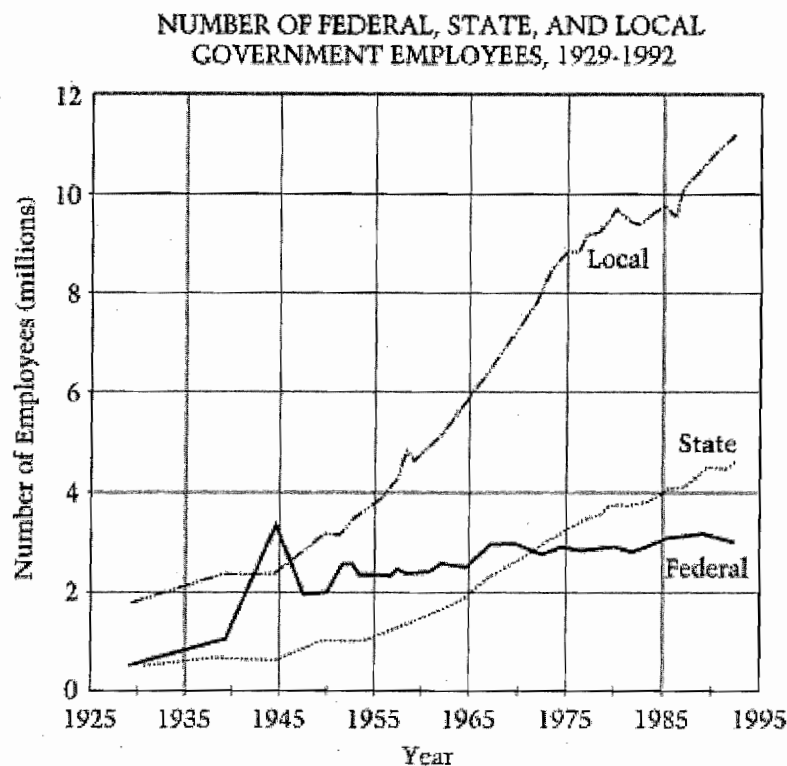
8. You will note that some of the districts in the map have irregular shapes. In the space below, explain two reasons why district boundaries sometimes have irregular shapes like the ones you see in the map.

1.

2.

9. Describe one policy area in which state governments affect the lives of citizens.

Describe one way in which citizens can affect state government's policy in this area.



10. Which statement helps to explain the data presented in the graph above?

- A) Federal government has been growing much faster than state or local governments because increasing numbers of people rely on the federal government for different services.
- B) Local governments employ more people than do state or federal governments because local governments meet the direct needs of so many people in so many different places.
- C) State governments employ fewer people than do local governments because state governments run much more efficiently than are local governments.
- D) Federal, state, and local governments have increased at the same rates over a 70-year period because the system of federalism divides responsibilities among different levels of government.

11. Which statement about the making of United States foreign policy is accurate?

- A) State governments, through their ability to negotiate independent trade agreements, have preeminent authority in making foreign policy.

- B) The Senate, because of its power of treaty ratification, has more power in setting foreign policy than does the President.
- C) The Supreme Court, because it can rule on the constitutionality of executive actions, dominates foreign policy.
- D) Congress and the courts have some authority over foreign policy, but the President and the state department have the greatest authority.

12. While most voters identify with a political party, they do not always vote for candidates from that political party. Describe two factors besides political party identification that influence voter preference.

1.

2.

*The following question refers to the passages below, taken from the Supreme Court's majority opinion and Justice Harlan's dissent in the case of *Lochner v. New York* (1905). In this case, the state of New York had passed a law that limited the number of hours that an employee of a bakery could work to no more than sixty hours a week. *Lochner* was a baker who challenged the constitutionality of the law in the courts.*

The statute necessarily interferes with the right of contract between the employer and employees.... The general right to make a contract...is part of the liberty of the individual protected by the Fourteenth Amendment.... Under that provision, no State can deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law. The right to purchase or sell labor is part of the liberty protected by this amendment....

- Justice Peckham, delivering the majority opinion of the Court

It is plain that this statute was enacted in order to protect the physical well-being of those who work in bakeries.... The statute must be taken as expressing the belief of the people of New York that, as a general rule, labor in excess of sixty hours a week...may endanger the health of those who thus labor.... Our duty, I submit, is to sustain the statute as not being in conflict with the Federal Constitution.

- Justice Harlan, in his dissenting opinion

13. What was the effect of the Supreme Court decision in the case of *Lochner v. New York*?

- A) The power to regulate working hours and conditions was given to the courts.
- B) The federal government alone could interfere with the right to make contracts.
- C) The law limiting the number of hours people could work was allowed to stand.
- D) The law limiting the number of hours people could work was ruled unconstitutional.

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- Justice Harlan, in his dissenting opinion

14. What is one way that political attitudes toward government regulation have changed since the decision in the *Lochner* case?

- A) Government today is largely unwilling to regulate private contracts.
- B) The federal government no longer applies the Fourteenth Amendment to state laws.
- C) It is generally accepted that the government should take some actions to defend the health and safety of workers.
- D) It is generally accepted that the government should play a role in enforcing contracts, but not in trying to influence their content.

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- Justice Harlan, in his dissenting opinion

15. Which of the following arguments supports the majority decision?

- A) The law should be applied to all people equally, without regard to race, creed, or color.
- B) Government should play as small a role as possible in civil society and the economy.
- C) The Supreme Court should never overturn state laws, since these tend to reflect the will of the majority.
- D) There are times when the government will know what is best for individuals, even though the individuals may not agree.

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16. Which of the following is the best way to summarize the difference between the two opinions?

- A) Peckham argues for judicial activism to limit government power; Harlan argues for judicial restraint, but for a more active role by government.
- B) Peckham argues that legislatures have a role to play in civil society; Harlan argues that such a role should be reserved only for the courts.
- C) Peckham emphasizes the power of the states; Harlan emphasizes the power of the federal government.
- D) Peckham emphasizes the power of the legislatures; Harlan emphasizes the power of the courts.

The following question refers to the descriptions below of two different electoral systems.

Most democratic countries elect legislatures through one of two types of electoral systems: single-member district or proportional representation. In single-member district systems, citizens in specific areas vote for candidates who represent their districts. In proportional representation systems, citizens in the country vote for political parties. Parties are then awarded seats in the legislature proportionate to the percentage of the vote they have won. In other words, if a party wins 20 percent of the vote, it receives 20 percent of the seats in the legislature.

17. Why will countries with proportional representation systems tend to have more political parties than those with single-member district systems?
- A) Only large countries tend to use proportional representation systems, and these countries naturally have more parties.
 - B) Countries with proportional representation systems tend to be more sharply divided along ethnic and regional lines, and many parties tend to arise as groups struggle to defend their interests.
 - C) Parties in proportional representation systems do not have to win a majority of the vote in any district, so it is easier for smaller parties to gain representation in the legislature.
 - D) Countries with proportional representation systems tend to have constitutions that mandate the existence of more than three political parties.

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18. Which of the following is the best argument that a proportional representation system is better than a single-member district system?
- A) In proportional representation systems, elected representatives will be more likely to actively defend the interests of the regions they were elected to represent.
 - B) In proportional representation systems, the balance of power in the legislature is more representative of the popular vote.
 - C) Proportional representation systems tend to be less bureaucratic.
 - D) Proportional representation systems are more likely to promote strong majorities in legislatures.

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19. Which of the following is the best argument that a single-member district system is better than a proportional representation system?
- A) Voters should make choices about individual candidates, as they do in single-member district

- systems, rather than simply vote for a party.
- B) Single-member district systems lead to stronger political parties, which are good for democracy.
 - C) Single-member district systems are better at representing the interests of minorities.
 - D) Voters will make wiser choices if they focus on national issues, as they do in single-member district systems, rather than on local issues, as they tend to do in proportional representation systems.

20. The primary purpose of the Bill of Rights was to

- A) limit the spread of slavery in the United States
- B) limit the power of the federal government
- C) establish judicial review
- D) allot specific powers to the states

21. Explain **two** ways that democratic society benefits from citizens actively participating in the political process.

1.

2.



22. Explain in your own words what the blindfold and scales on the figure of justice mean.

Give one reason why the values represented by the figure are important to American constitutional democracy.

23. Imagine that Congress is considering severe cutbacks in the Social Security program. Which of the following national interest groups would be most concerned about and opposed to such a policy?

- A) Mothers Against Drunk Drivers
- B) American Association of Retired Persons
- C) National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
- D) American Bar Association

24. What happens to most of the bills introduced in the House of Representatives?

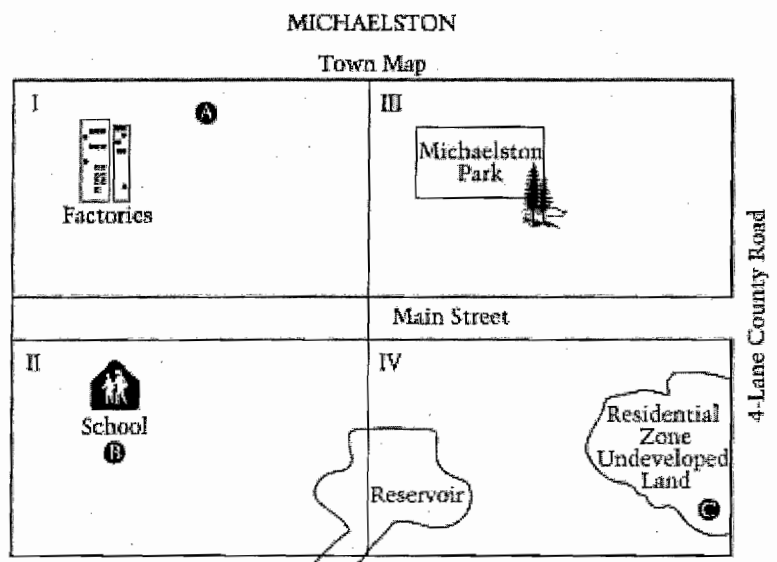
- A) They become laws.
- B) They are passed but then vetoed by the President.
- C) They are passed by the House but not by the Senate.

D) They are never sent by committees to the full House.

25. At the Constitutional Convention, there was a major debate between large states and small states about representation in the new Congress. This debate was resolved by the Connecticut Compromise, which said that

- A) the number of citizens in a state would determine how many seats that state had in Congress, but slaves and other noncitizens would not be counted for this purpose
- B) Congress would have two houses in which the number of seats a state had in each house was based on its population
- C) Congress would have two houses, one in which state representation was based on population and one in which all states had equal representation
- D) Congress would be made up of two houses in which all states had an equal number of representatives in each house

The following question refers to the map below. The town in the map, Michaelston, needs to create a waste landfill. The landfill will be located at site A, B, or C shown on the map.



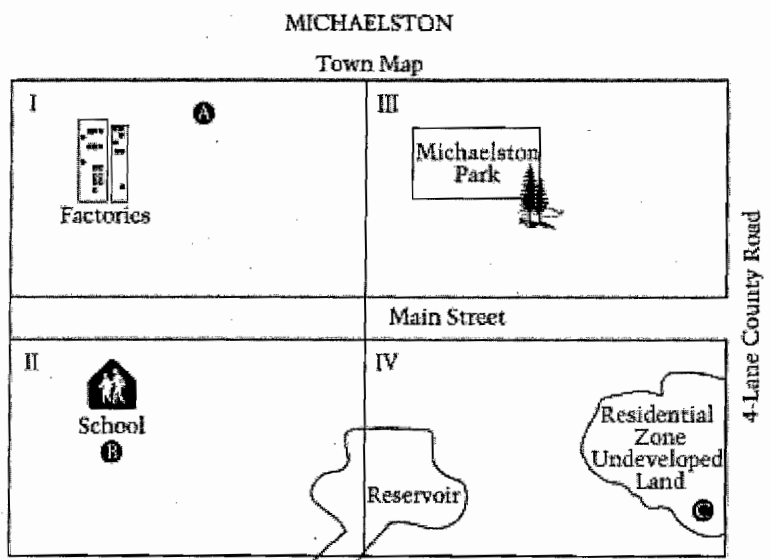
Zone

- I. Industrial
- II. Residential/light industry
- III. Residential – high occupancy/multifamily houses allowed
- IV. Residential – minimum 1-acre lots

26. Imagine that the decision has been made to locate the landfill at the site near the school. What would be one of the first actions students could legally take to protest this decision and try to have the landfill placed in another location?

- A) Appear before the town council to request that the landfill be placed elsewhere.
- B) Encourage parents to refuse to pay federal income taxes.
- C) Petition international environmental organizations so that they can help move the landfill elsewhere.
- D) Refuse to go to school until the decision is changed.

The following question refers to the map below. The town in the map, Michaelston, needs to create a waste landfill. The landfill will be located at site A, B, or C shown on the map.

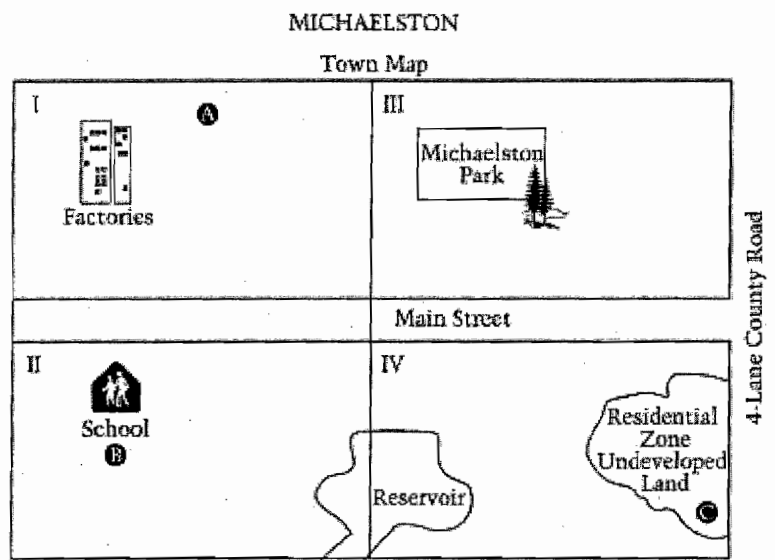


Zone

- I. Industrial
- II. Residential/light industry
- III. Residential – high occupancy/multifamily houses allowed
- IV. Residential – minimum 1-acre lots

27. The federal government would likely become involved in the decision about where to locate the landfill if the landfill threatened to
- A) lower the value of property in surrounding areas
 - B) cause the quality of the reservoir water to fall below the standards set by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)
 - C) interfere with the local tourist trade
 - D) lead to the recall of members of the town and state governments

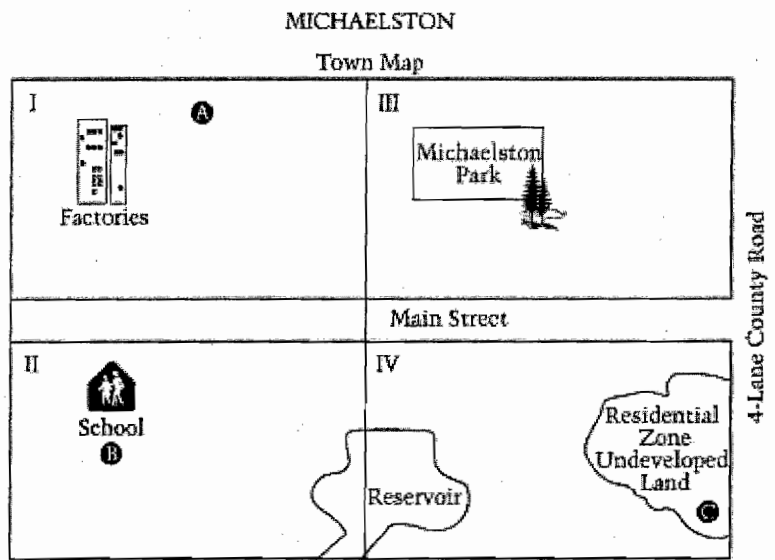
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28. The state government would be most likely to become involved in the decision about where to locate the landfill if developers tried to put the landfill on a site that

- A) was near an army base within the state
- B) created conflicts among the citizens of the town
- C) was near a town park
- D) was likely to affect agriculture in other counties in the state

The following question refers to the map below. The town in the map, Michaelston, needs to create a waste landfill. The landfill will be located at site A, B, or C shown on the map.

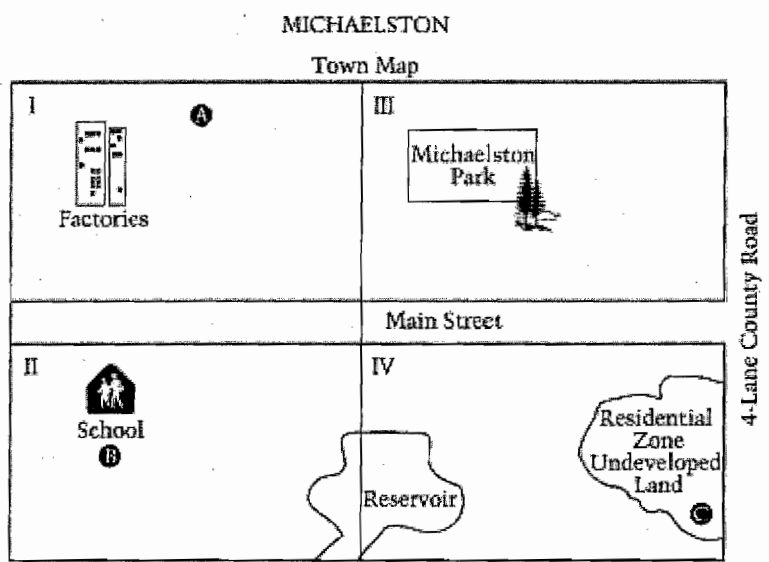


Zone

- I. Industrial
- II. Residential/light industry
- III. Residential – high occupancy/multifamily houses allowed
- IV. Residential – minimum 1-acre lots

29. Is the landfill most likely to be located at site A, B, or C? Explain why it is more likely to be located at that site than at the other two sites.

The following question refers to the map below. The town in the map, Michaelston, needs to create a waste landfill. The landfill will be located at site A, B, or C shown on the map.



Zone

- I. Industrial
- II. Residential/light industry
- III. Residential – high occupancy/multifamily houses allowed
- IV. Residential – minimum 1-acre lots

30. Which of the following would be true for someone who wanted to open a small business in zone III?

- A) She could open the business whenever she raised the necessary funds.
- B) She would need to get permission from the federal government.
- C) She would need to get a zoning variance from the town planning board.
- D) She would need to have a petition signed by a majority of community members in favor of the business.

The following question is based on the excerpt below from the Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954).

Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities . . . may be equal, deprive children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does.

To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely on the basis of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status and community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely to ever be undone. . . . Whatever may have been the extent of psychological knowledge at the time of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, this finding is amply supported by modern authority. Any language in *Plessy v. Ferguson* contrary to this finding is rejected.

We conclude that in the field of public education, the doctrine of separate but equal has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.

31. The segregated educational system described in the decision was the result of

- A) state laws
- B) federal laws
- C) federal regulations
- D) executive orders

The following question is based on the excerpt below from the Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954).

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32. The second paragraph discusses an earlier court decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson*. You can conclude that the Plessy decision had allowed
- A) districts to use busing to integrate schools
 - B) schools to have "separate but equal" educational facilities
 - C) free public education for all citizens
 - D) new federal support to finance education for minority students

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We conclude that in the field of public education, the doctrine of separate but equal has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.

33. Which part of the United States Constitution did the Court most likely use to support its decision?
- A) Article 4
 - B) The Tenth Amendment
 - C) The Thirteenth Amendment
 - D) The Fourteenth Amendment

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We conclude that in the field of public education, the doctrine of separate but equal has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.

34. How did the decision affect the relationship between the federal government and state and local governments?
- A) The federal government exerted greater influence in a policy area that had been dominated by states and municipalities.
 - B) The federal government began directly determining what would be taught in public classrooms.
 - C) State governments were restricted in their ability to mandate the teaching of religion in public schools.
 - D) State and local governments became less dependent on federal funding for education.

The following question refers to the statement below.

The United States is not a fully democratic country. The framers of the Constitution created a system in which majorities—even large majorities or their representatives in Congress—do not have the right to do anything and everything they want.

35. Which aspect of the American system of government shows one of the limits on the power of majorities discussed above?
- A) The ability of Congress to override presidential vetoes
 - B) The Supreme Court's power to overturn unconstitutional laws
 - C) The right of Congress to impeach Presidents and federal judges
 - D) The ability of people in many states to vote public initiatives into law

The following question refers to the statement below.

The United States is not a fully democratic country. The framers of the Constitution created a system in which majorities—even large majorities or their representatives in Congress—do not have the right to do anything and everything they want.

36. The framers of the Constitution wanted to limit the power of majorities in order to
- A) encourage the growth of political parties
 - B) ensure that state governments would remain weak

- C) enable the government to act quickly in times of crisis
- D) protect the rights of individuals and minorities

The following question refers to the two documents below.

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

- First Amendment to the United States Constitution

Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international cooperation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

- Article 22 of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948

37. The two documents show a common concern for

- A) free speech
- B) economic rights
- C) individual rights
- D) group rights

The following question refers to the two documents below.

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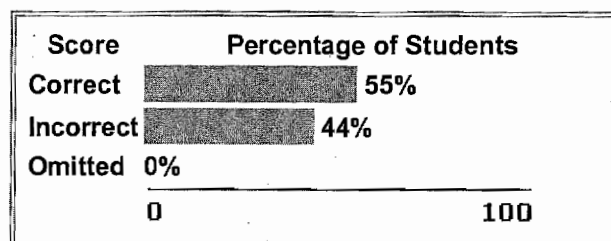
38. Why have documents such as the United Nations Universal Declaration been opposed by some citizens in the United States?

- A) Some people fear that international agreements will force the United States to act in ways not consistent with its national interest.
- B) Americans see economic equality as more important than individual liberty.
- C) Some people believe that the government should be free to limit speech and assembly rights where necessary.
- D) Most people do not believe that there are universal human rights.

Question 1**Key**

1. Which of the following statements is most consistent with the Locke quotation above?

- ▶ A) Weak government is worse than no government.
B) Governmental power should be limited.
C) Laws should never be changed.
D) Only wise people can exercise power.

1998 National Performance Results**Note:**

- These results are for public and nonpublic school students.
- Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Content Area: *What Are Civic Life, Politics, and Government?*

Cognitive Domain: *Explaining and Analyzing*

Question 2**Scoring Guide**

Score & Description
Complete Response correctly lists two ways that the American government is designed to prevent these problems.
Partial Response correctly lists one way that the American government prevents these problems.
Unacceptable Response does not give any ways the American government prevents these problems.

Credited responses could include:

Variations on several points are acceptable:

WRITTEN CONSTITUTION:

- Written constitution and body of specific laws that control the government
- Bill of Rights
- Rule of law

SEPARATION OF POWERS AND/OR CHECKS AND BALANCES:

- Independent judiciary
- Checks on executive branch keep it from having absolute power. (All checks and balances serve this purpose.)

Do not accept:

- Responses such as "Congress," "Supreme Court," or "President"

FEDERALISM:

- The federal system divides power between federal and state governments.

OTHER:

- The vote — Most government officials can be voted out of power.
- Military is under civilian control.
- Public initiatives and referenda allow citizens to make laws directly.
- Most public offices have relatively short terms.
- Civil liberties and civil rights are guaranteed.

- The legislative process is designed to move slowly in order to prevent arbitrary power.

Complete - Student Response

- 2 List two ways the American system of government is designed to prevent "absolute arbitrary power" and "governing without settled laws."

- 1) the legislative branch, judicial branch, & executive branch check & balances each other so no one gets too powerful
- 2) The Constitution & amendments are made so that people know what the laws are.

- 2 List two ways the American system of government is designed to prevent "absolute arbitrary power" and "governing without settled laws."

- 1) The system of checks and balances prevents a certain branch of government from getting too powerful.
- 2) The amendment process allows laws to be added or altered to fit the best needs of citizens

Partial - Student Response

- 2 List two ways the American system of government is designed to prevent "absolute arbitrary power" and "governing without settled laws."

- 1) People are allowed to try to change the laws if they don't agree with them.
- 2) _____

- 2 List two ways the American system of government is designed to prevent "absolute arbitrary power" and "governing without settled laws."

1) One way the American system is designed to prevent "absolute arbitrary power" is by having a President and other cabinet members.

2) Another way it is designed to prevent "governing without settled laws" is by letting people vote and help make laws

Unacceptable - Student Response

- 2 List two ways the American system of government is designed to prevent "absolute arbitrary power" and "governing without settled laws."

1) It's going to have more communication with the people and do the best

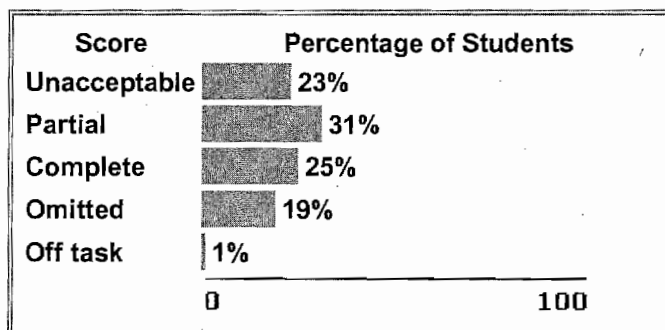
2) It's going to do all with the laws that they have in this country.

- 2 List two ways the American system of government is designed to prevent "absolute arbitrary power" and "governing without settled laws."

1) Have Supreme Courts

2) Congress

1998 National Performance Results



Note:

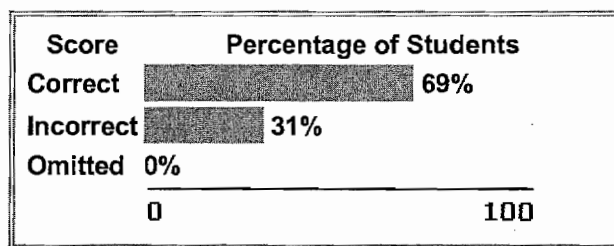
- These results are for public and nonpublic school students.
- Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Content Area: *What Are the Foundations of the American Political System?*

Cognitive Domain: *Explaining and Analyzing*

Question 3**Key**

3. Which of the following best summarizes Judge Hand's argument about constitutional democracy in the United States?
- A) Constitutions are a serious obstacle to individual liberties.
B) Constitutions allow governments to disregard individual liberties.
▶ C) Individual liberties depend on citizens committed to the protection of those liberties.
D) Individual liberties can only be safeguarded by a written constitution and an independent judiciary.

1998 National Performance Results**Note:**

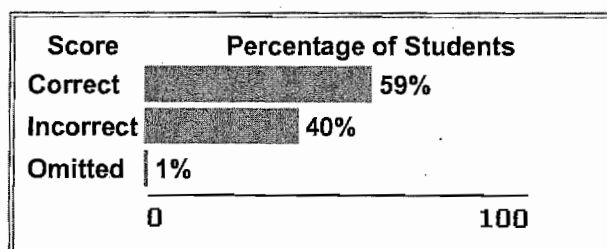
- These results are for public and nonpublic school students.
- Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Content Area: *What Are the Roles of Citizens in American Democracy?*

Cognitive Domain: *Explaining and Analyzing*

Question 4**Key**

4. It can be concluded from the quotation that Judge Hand believed it was most important that citizens
- A) vote for candidates who support their views
 - B) rely on the courts to safeguard their rights
 - C) amend the Constitution whenever necessary
 - ▶ D) protect their freedoms through political participation

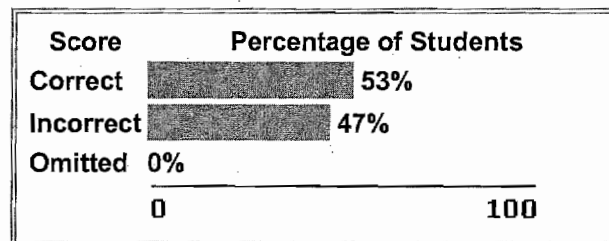
1998 National Performance Results**Note:**

- These results are for public and nonpublic school students.
- Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Content Area: *What Are the Roles of Citizens in American Democracy?*
Cognitive Domain: *Explaining and Analyzing*

Question 5**Key**

5. The congressional district boundaries shown on the map were probably drawn by the
- A) state constitutional convention
 - B) United States Congress
 - C) Federal Election Commission
 - ▶ D) Louisiana state legislature

1998 National Performance Results**Note:**

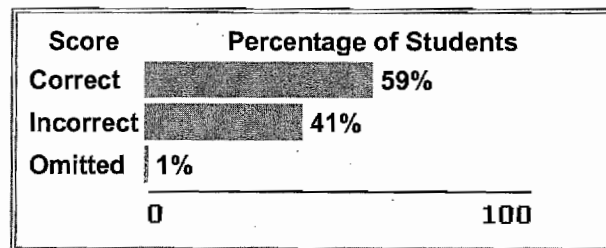
- These results are for public and nonpublic school students.
- Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Content Area: *How Does the Government Established by the Constitution Embody the Purposes, Values, and Principles of American Democracy?*

Cognitive Domain: *Identifying/Describing*

Question 6**Key**

6. Which of the following would best explain why there may be more than seven congressional districts in Louisiana in the year 2002?
- A) The state legislature votes to increase the number of representatives to give the state more decision-making power.
- ▶ B) The year 2000 census indicates that the population of Louisiana increased proportionately more than that of other states.
- C) The Supreme Court decides to increase the number of representatives in all southern states.
- D) Citizens of Louisiana vote yes on a referendum to increase the number of representatives in Congress.

1998 National Performance Results

Note:

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- Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

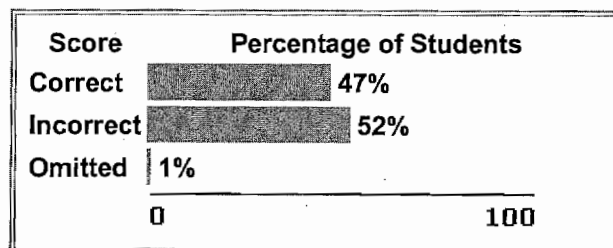
Content Area: *How Does the Government Established by the Constitution Embodify the Purposes, Values, and Principles of American Democracy?*

Cognitive Domain: *Explaining and Analyzing*

Question 7**Key**

7. From the map, you can conclude that congressional district 2 must

- ▶ A) include a large urban area
B) have fewer people than the other districts
C) have been drawn to protect an incumbent
D) be a very old congressional district

1998 National Performance Results**Note:**

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- Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Content Area: *How Does the Government Established by the Constitution Embody the Purposes, Values, and Principles of American Democracy?*

Cognitive Domain: *Explaining and Analyzing*

Question 8

Scoring Guide

Score & Description
Complete Response gives two valid reasons for oddly shaped districts such as the one shown.
Partial Response gives one valid reason for oddly shaped districts.
Unacceptable Response gives no valid reasons for oddly shaped districts.

Credited responses could include:

GERRYMANDERING, SUCH AS:

- Politicians engineer odd boundaries in order to give a particular party or candidate an electoral advantage.
- Some boundaries have been drawn to concentrate the voting strength of certain groups.

OTHER REASONS, SUCH AS:

- Some boundaries have been drawn because they are traditional or political boundaries, such as county (parish) borders or edges of cities, towns or neighborhoods. ("State borders" is not a credited answer.)
- Some boundaries have been drawn to reflect natural boundaries/landmarks (topography, waterways).
- In some cases (such as coastal districts) there may be shared economic interests.
- Some boundaries unite a constituency favorable to a political incumbent in a single district.
- Lines are drawn to reflect religious concentrations.
- Striving to obtain a more heterogenous population.
- Need to adjust or equalize population size in districts/make proportional districts.
- To separate urban from suburban districts.
- "Gerrymandering"

Do not accept:

- "Because of the population"; "To avoid discrimination"; "It depends on the population"; "It's based on the population."

Complete - Student Response

- 8 You will note that some of the districts in the map have irregular shapes. In the space below, explain two reasons why district boundaries sometimes have irregular shapes like the ones you see in the map.

1) The districts may have been gerrymandered
to promote the election of a specific party

2) The boundaries may have been drawn
to get an equal representation of
the population from each district.

- 8 You will note that some of the districts in the map have irregular shapes. In the space below, explain two reasons why district boundaries sometimes have irregular shapes like the ones you see in the map.

1) One reason would be gerrymandering;
the districts could have been drawn
like that to keep a specific ethnic group
from having too much unified power.

2) One area may be more rural and
less populous; thus, a greater area
would be needed than in a city, where
the population is condensed. As a
result, each area would then have
the same representation, proportionate
by population, not by size of district.

Partial - Student Response

- 8 You will note that some of the districts in the map have irregular shapes. In the space below, explain two reasons why district boundaries sometimes have irregular shapes like the ones you see in the map.

1) Because there may be more people in one area
than another and the boundaries are
made to include a certain number of people

2) _____

- 8 You will note that some of the districts in the map have irregular shapes. In the space below,

explain two reasons why district boundaries sometimes have irregular shapes like the ones you see in the map.

- 1) The population could be very spread out
over one area, causing the shapes to
be irregular.
- 2) The boundaries have to remain inside the
borders of Louisiana

Unacceptable - Student Response

- 8 You will note that some of the districts in the map have irregular shapes. In the space below, explain two reasons why district boundaries sometimes have irregular shapes like the ones you see in the map.

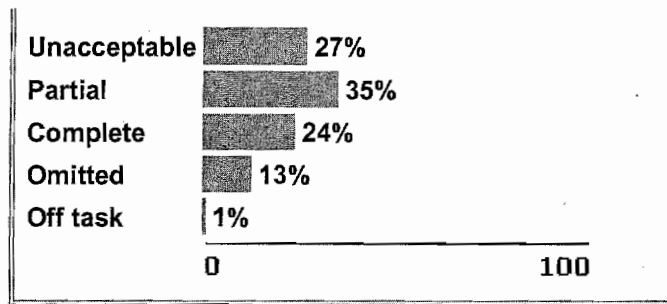
- 1) The irregular shapes represent
different districts.
- 2) There may be higher population
in the larger shapes of the
districts

- 8 You will note that some of the districts in the map have irregular shapes. In the space below, explain two reasons why district boundaries sometimes have irregular shapes like the ones you see in the map.

- 1) Because the state controls the
other certain parts
- 2) Those aren't controlled by
the legislature

1998 National Performance Results

Score	Percentage of Students
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Note:

- These results are for public and nonpublic school students.
- Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Content Area: *How Does the Government Established by the Constitution Embody the Purposes, Values, and Principles of American Democracy?*

Cognitive Domain: *Explaining and Analyzing*

Question 9**Scoring Guide**

Score & Description
Complete Response answers both parts of the question, properly identifying a function of state government and suggesting a way citizens could affect that policy.
Partial Response gives an area in which state governments affect citizens, but does not say how citizens affect the government. OR response addresses both parts of the question, but is vague and/or incomplete (e.g., "State governments have passed laws, but citizens can say they don't like them.").
Unacceptable Response does not give an appropriate description for either part of the question, for example, by describing a federal function.

Credited responses could include:

State governments are responsible for:

- laws governing education, education funding
- regulating trade within the state/weights and measures
- laws governing alcohol consumption/drinking age
- establishing local governments
- fishing and hunting regulations
- protecting public health and safety/health care/restaurants/hospital
- stimulating the economy to provide adequate employment
- ratifying federal constitutional amendments
- gambling laws (casinos/lottery)
- setting tax rates/raising tax rates
- conducting elections
- setting of source prices (e.g., milk, natural gas)
- their state constitutions and forms of government, legislation
- setting the legal age to marry

- establishing and supporting public schools
- motor vehicle regulations — speed limits, driving age, etc.

State governments share certain powers with the federal government, including:

- setting tax rates, raising taxes
- highway maintenance and construction
- establishing courts
- laws determining eligibility for welfare benefits
- law enforcement
- firearms regulations
- use of public lands
- gun laws
- banning smoking in public places

Similar forms of citizen involvement could apply to many of these state functions, including:

- contacting state representatives (letters, petitions, marches)
- voting
- community organizing
- lobbying
- campaigning for candidates who support certain policies
- joining civic organizations with an interest in areas affected by state government
- citizens can voice their opinions at state government meetings

Complete - Student Response

- 9 Describe one policy area in which state governments affect the lives of citizens.

The policy of obtaining a driver's license affects citizens because each state has different procedures, rules, and regulations. If you want to drive, you must comply.

Describe one way in which citizens can affect state government's policy in this area.

By voting on propositions that were created to change these rules, citizens can affect state government's policy in this area.

- 9 Describe one policy area in which state governments affect the lives of citizens.

Education, they decide what needs to be taught to who and when.

Describe one way in which citizens can affect state government's policy in this area.

By voting during election time and speaking out on what's going on.

Partial - Student Response

- 9 Describe one policy area in which state governments affect the lives of citizens.

Each state government has different policies in criminal laws which affect the lives of citizens.

Describe one way in which citizens can affect state government's policy in this area.

Citizens have a more direct line to affecting the laws of a state than they do to affecting the laws of the nation.

- 9 Describe one policy area in which state governments affect the lives of citizens.

driving laws (age) or any little
thing that has to do with my state.
Fishing licenses etc.

Describe one way in which citizens can affect state government's policy in
this area.

People + take over the land
then become our own state +
government.

Unacceptable - Student Response

- 9 Describe one policy area in which state governments affect the lives of citizens.

A foreign policy -

Describe one way in which citizens can affect state government's policy in
this area.

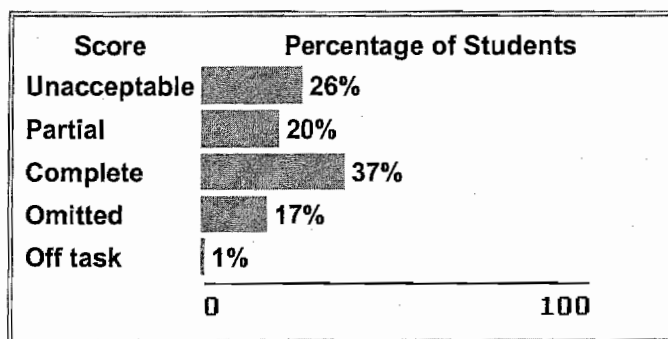
Student's can write to
their state legislature
or send in a signed petition.

- 9 Describe one policy area in which state governments affect the lives of citizens.

The taxes of the house are
too much and sometimes we can
pay too much money because some
time we don't pay enough in our work.

Describe one way in which citizens can affect state government's policy in
this area.

The construction of the park
and the construction of the road
and have more police in the
street.



Note:

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Content Area: *How Does the Government Established by the Constitution Embody the Purposes, Values, and Principles of American Democracy?*

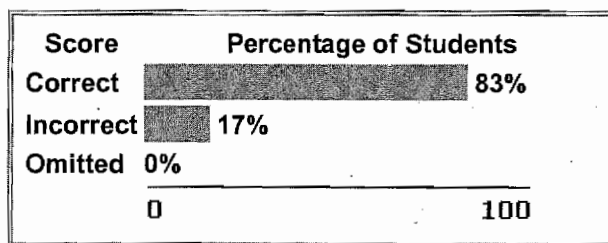
Cognitive Domain: *Identifying/Describing*

Question 10**Key**

10. Which statement helps to explain the data presented in the graph above?

- A) Federal government has been growing much faster than state or local governments because increasing numbers of people rely on the federal government for different services.
- ▶ B) Local governments employ more people than do state or federal governments because local governments meet the direct needs of so many people in so many different places.
- C) State governments employ fewer people than do local governments because state governments run much more efficiently than are local governments.
- D) Federal, state, and local governments have increased at the same rates over a 70-year period because the system of federalism divides responsibilities among different levels of government.

1998 National Performance Results



Note:

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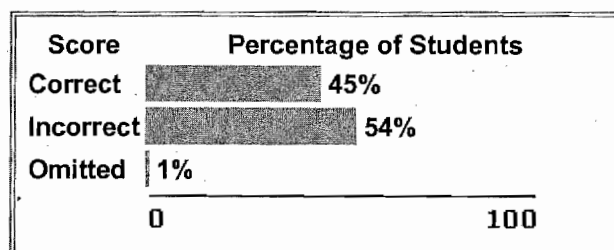
Content Area: *How Does the Government Established by the Constitution Embody the Purposes, Values, and Principles of American Democracy?*

Cognitive Domain: *Explaining and Analyzing*

Question 11**Key**

11. Which statement about the making of United States foreign policy is accurate?

- A) State governments, through their ability to negotiate independent trade agreements, have preeminent authority in making foreign policy.
- B) The Senate, because of its power of treaty ratification, has more power in setting foreign policy than does the President.
- C) The Supreme Court, because it can rule on the constitutionality of executive actions, dominates foreign policy.
- D) Congress and the courts have some authority over foreign policy, but the President and the state department have the greatest authority.

1998 National Performance Results

Note:

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- Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Content Area: *What is the Relationship of the United States to Other Nations and to World Affairs?*

Cognitive Domain: *Explaining and Analyzing*

Question 12

Scoring Guide

Score & Description
Complete Response names two factors of some importance other than political party identification; influencing voter preference.
Partial Response names one appropriate factor other than political party identification; influencing voter preference.
Unacceptable Response does not name any factors of import other than political party identification; influencing voter preference (e.g., "candidate has a nice voice"). OR Response offers inappropriate factors (e.g., "I had a bad day").

Credited responses could include:

- Candidate's position on specific unnamed issues
- Candidate's position on specific (named) issue
- Media or editorial endorsements
- Candidate's image
- The way the candidate conducted his/her campaign
- Candidate's religion, race, ethnicity, gender, values, ethics
- If candidate is an incumbent; whether the candidate has served voter/district well
- Candidate's election prospects (Many people do not wish to "waste" their vote on a losing candidate.)
- Candidate's history, background, experience
- Candidate's family
- Trust that the candidate will do what s/he says
- Voter's age
- Voter's education
- Voter's occupation

Do not accept:

- One-word answers (e.g., "image")
- Cynical answers
- "Voter's background" (unless specific characteristic is given)

Note: Student receives complete credit for 2 acceptable factors even if the answers are written in the same space.

Complete - Student Response

- 12 While most voters identify with a political party, they do not always vote for candidates from that political party. Describe two factors besides political party identification that influence voter preference.

1) Where a certain candidate stands
on specific issues

2) Information about the candidate's
past life or political life.

- 12 While most voters identify with a political party, they do not always vote for candidates from that political party. Describe two factors besides political party identification that influence voter preference.

1) The appearance or age of a candidate
might influence voters, along with
the moral values a candidate
advocates.

2) The candidate's background
reflects how they were brought
up and shows leader potential

Partial - Student Response

- 12 While most voters identify with a political party, they do not always vote for candidates from that political party. Describe two factors besides political party identification that influence voter preference.

- 1) The candidate in one party may have
a better idea of what he's going to do
when he/she is elected.

- 2) _____

12 While most voters identify with a political party, they do not always vote for candidates from that political party. Describe two factors besides political party identification that influence voter preference.

- 1) The voter may not feel the candidate in
their party is as qualified as the
other candidate

- 2) _____

Unacceptable - Student Response

12 While most voters identify with a political party, they do not always vote for candidates from that political party. Describe two factors besides political party identification that influence voter preference.

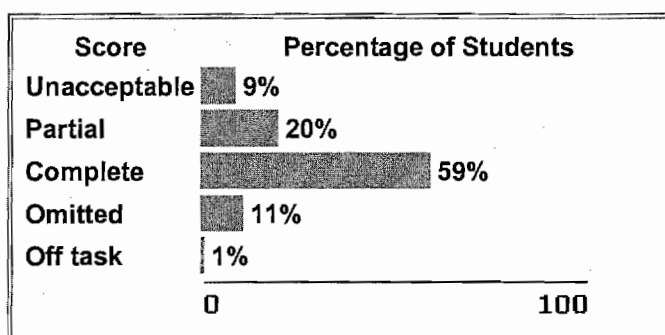
- 1) the view from candidate

- 2) representative democracy

12 While most voters identify with a political party, they do not always vote for candidates from that political party. Describe two factors besides political party identification that influence voter preference.

- 1) opinions
- 2) promises

1998 National Performance Results



Note:

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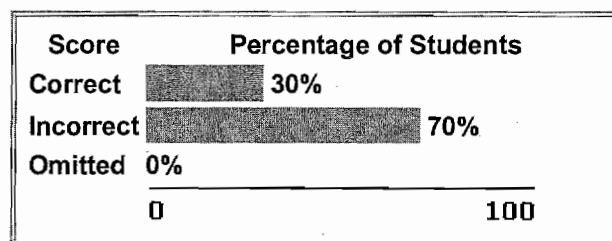
Content Area: *How Does the Government Established by the Constitution Embody the Purposes, Values, and Principles of American Democracy?*

Cognitive Domain: *Evaluating, Taking, and Defending a Position*

Question 13**Key**

13. What was the effect of the Supreme Court decision in the case of *Lochner v. New York*?

- A) The power to regulate working hours and conditions was given to the courts.
B) The federal government alone could interfere with the right to make contracts.
C) The law limiting the number of hours people could work was allowed to stand.
▶ D) The law limiting the number of hours people could work was ruled unconstitutional.

1998 National Performance Results**Note:**

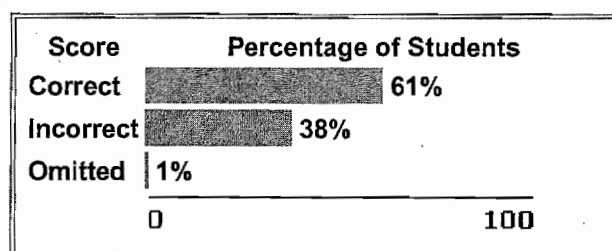
- These results are for public and nonpublic school students.
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Content Area: *What Are the Foundations of the American Political System?*

Cognitive Domain: *Explaining and Analyzing*

Question 14**Key**

14. What is one way that political attitudes toward government regulation have changed since the decision in the *Lochner* case?
- A) Government today is largely unwilling to regulate private contracts.
- B) The federal government no longer applies the Fourteenth Amendment to state laws.
- ▶ C) It is generally accepted that the government should take some actions to defend the health and safety of workers.
- D) It is generally accepted that the government should play a role in enforcing contracts, but not in trying to influence their content.

1998 National Performance Results

Note:

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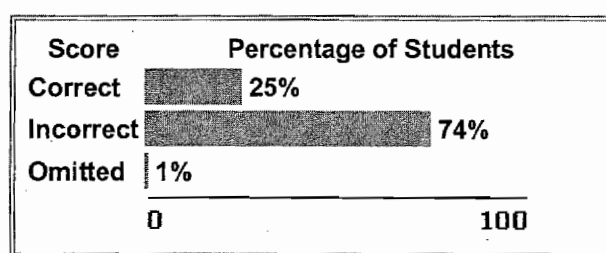
Content Area: *What Are the Foundations of the American Political System?*

Cognitive Domain: *Explaining and Analyzing*

Question 15**Key**

15. Which of the following arguments supports the majority decision?

- ▶ A) The law should be applied to all people equally, without regard to race, creed, or color.
- B) Government should play as small a role as possible in civil society and the economy.
- C) The Supreme Court should never overturn state laws, since these tend to reflect the will of the majority.
- D) There are times when the government will know what is best for individuals, even though the individuals may not agree.

1998 National Performance Results**Note:**

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- Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Content Area: *What Are Civic Life, Politics, and Government?*

Cognitive Domain: *Evaluating, Taking, and Defending a Position*

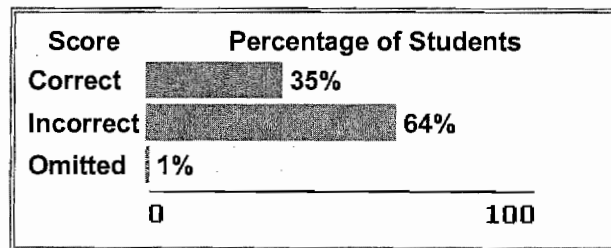
Question 16

Key

16. Which of the following is the best way to summarize the difference between the two opinions?

- ▶ A) Peckham argues for judicial activism to limit government power; Harlan argues for judicial restraint, but for a more active role by government.
- B) Peckham argues that legislatures have a role to play in civil society; Harlan argues that such a role should be reserved only for the courts.
- C) Peckham emphasizes the power of the states; Harlan emphasizes the power of the federal government.
- D) Peckham emphasizes the power of the legislatures; Harlan emphasizes the power of the courts.

1998 National Performance Results



Note:

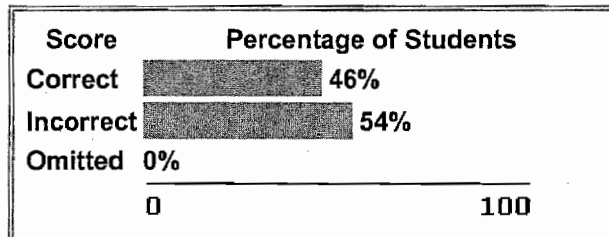
- These results are for public and nonpublic school students.
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Content Area: *How Does the Government Established by the Constitution Embody the Purposes, Values, and Principles of American Democracy?*

Cognitive Domain: *Evaluating, Taking, and Defending a Position*

Question 17**Key**

17. Why will countries with proportional representation systems tend to have more political parties than those with single-member district systems?
- A) Only large countries tend to use proportional representation systems, and these countries naturally have more parties.
- B) Countries with proportional representation systems tend to be more sharply divided along ethnic and regional lines, and many parties tend to arise as groups struggle to defend their interests.
- C) Parties in proportional representation systems do not have to win a majority of the vote in any district, so it is easier for smaller parties to gain representation in the legislature.
- D) Countries with proportional representation systems tend to have constitutions that mandate the existence of more than three political parties.

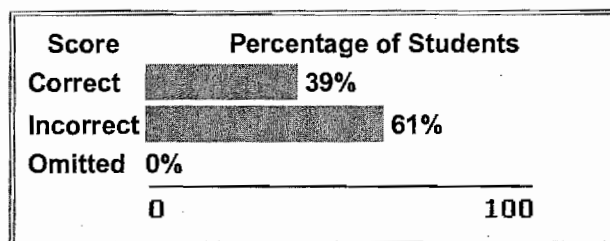
1998 National Performance Results**Note:**

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- Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Content Area: *What Are Civic Life, Politics, and Government?*
Cognitive Domain: *Explaining and Analyzing*

Question 18**Key**

18. Which of the following is the best argument that a proportional representation system is better than a single-member district system?
- A) In proportional representation systems, elected representatives will be more likely to actively defend the interests of the regions they were elected to represent.
- B) In proportional representation systems, the balance of power in the legislature is more representative of the popular vote.
- C) Proportional representation systems tend to be less bureaucratic.
- D) Proportional representation systems are more likely to promote strong majorities in legislatures.

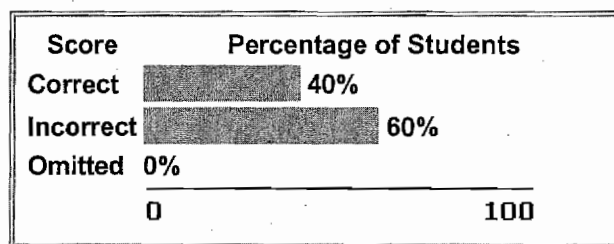
1998 National Performance Results**Note:**

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Content Area: *What Are Civic Life, Politics, and Government?*
Cognitive Domain: *Evaluating, Taking, and Defending a Position*

Question 19**Key**

19. Which of the following is the best argument that a single-member district system is better than a proportional representation system?
- ▶ A) Voters should make choices about individual candidates, as they do in single-member district systems, rather than simply vote for a party.
- B) Single-member district systems lead to stronger political parties, which are good for democracy.
- C) Single-member district systems are better at representing the interests of minorities.
- D) Voters will make wiser choices if they focus on national issues, as they do in single-member district systems, rather than on local issues, as they tend to do in proportional representation systems.

1998 National Performance Results**Note:**

- These results are for public and nonpublic school students.
- Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

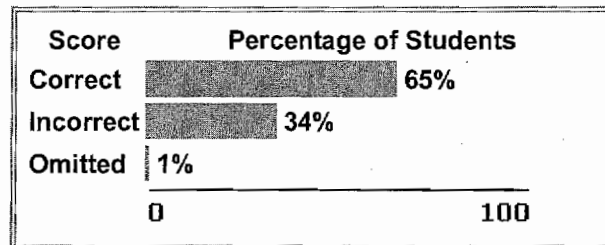
Content Area: *What Are Civic Life, Politics, and Government?*

Cognitive Domain: *Evaluating, Taking, and Defending a Position*

Question 20**Key**

20. The primary purpose of the Bill of Rights was to

- ▶ A) limit the spread of slavery in the United States
B) limit the power of the federal government
C) establish judicial review
D) allot specific powers to the states

1998 National Performance Results**Note:**

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- Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Content Area: *What Are the Foundations of the American Political System?*
Cognitive Domain: *Identifying/Describing*

Question 21

Scoring Guide

Score & Description
Complete The response successfully describes two ways in which society as a whole benefits from citizen involvement. Emphasis is placed on the benefits to society rather than to an individual.
Partial The response successfully describes one salutary impact. The other description, if present, is either trivial or is from the point of view of how citizen participation benefits individuals rather than society.
Unacceptable The response does not describe any of the salutary impacts of citizen involvement in politics.

Credited response could include:

- If people participate in the political process, their opinions will be more represented in the society, therefore the society will be more diverse and more representative of the makeup of the population.
- If people participate, they have a greater stake in the society and care more about what happens/take more responsibility for society.
- If people actively participate in the political process, then government institutions and government leaders more accurately reflect the will of the people.
- The society is less apt to be tyrannically controlled by the will of individuals or small groups if all citizens actively participate in the political process. The more people participate, the stronger the democracy will be.

Complete - Student Response

21 Explain **two** ways that democratic society benefits from citizens actively participating in the political process.

- 1) When citizens voice their opinions, Congressmen see a variety of views from their constituents. Using all of these views, he can better act in favor of those he is representing.
- 2) Active participation in a democracy also limits any chance of dictatorship. It is virtually impossible for a majority to approve this with the system of federation provided by our constitution & our system of checks & balances. Citizens can protest if they see something they don't like & work together to get rid of it.

21 Explain **two** ways that democratic society benefits from citizens actively participating in the political

process.

- 1) The idea of a democracy is for every citizen of the nation to participate in the gov't so all are represented and a dictatorship cannot occur, therefore it is integral to have active participation.
- 2) A democracy constantly evolves and changes itself because of changing needs in the nation done through amendments. If citizens express their concern and voice their ideas, change for the better can occur.

Partial - Student Response

21 Explain **two** ways that democratic society benefits from citizens actively participating in the political process.

- 1) When citizens participate in the political process, they help to bring about change that reflects current views of society. Without society's participation, the nation would be living under the same laws and regulations that people lived under hundreds of years ago.
- 2) Society benefits from citizen participation in political processes in that, when people become involved more, more is done: more needed laws are passed, old and unneeded regulations are taken away, and politics begin to better represent the people of the time.

21 Explain **two** ways that democratic society benefits from citizens actively participating in the political process.

- 1) Democratic society benefits from citizens participating because the people can give their opinion on certain political issues.
- 2) Democratic society benefits from citizens participating through voting. It is our constitutional right to vote and we should use it.

Unacceptable - Student Response

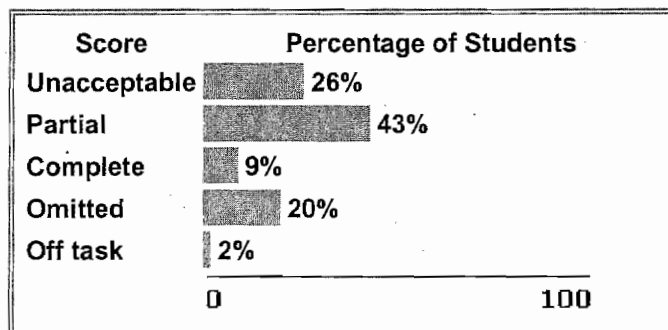
21 Explain **two** ways that democratic society benefits from citizens actively participating in the political process.

- 1) The democratic society benefits from citizens in the political process because the citizens pay for much of the campaigns for the democrates
- 2) The also benefit by giving the democrates good publicity and the vote for them on election day.

21 Explain **two** ways that democratic society benefits from citizens actively participating in the political process.

- 1) Since the democratic party helps out the middle class society, they are able to get the people into participating in voting
- 2) The democratic party goes for the issues that will help the middle + lower class and go against the wealthy.

1998 National Performance Results



Note:

- These results are for public and nonpublic school students.
- Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Content Area: What Are the Roles of Citizens in American Democracy?
Cognitive Domain: Evaluating, Taking, and Defending a Position

Question 22

Scoring Guide

Score & Description
<p>Complete</p> <p>Response explains the meaning of both the scales and the blindfold symbols, and offers a reason for why the values represented by the symbols are important to American constitutional democracy.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">OR</p> <p>Response gives a good general explanation that encompasses the meaning of both symbols and offers a reason why the values represented by the symbols are important to American constitutional democracy.</p>
<p>Acceptable</p> <p>Response explains the meaning of BOTH symbols but does not offer a reason why the values are important to constitutional democracy.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">OR</p> <p>Response explains the meaning of either the blindfold or the scales and offers a reason why the symbol is important to constitutional democracy.</p>
<p>Partial</p> <p>Response explains the meaning of either the scales or the blindfold, or offers a reason for why the values represented by the symbol are important to American constitutional democracy.</p>
<p>Unacceptable</p> <p>Response does not explain the use of blindfold or scales in the graphic.</p>

PART 1:

Scales: fair weighing of evidence/hearing both sides of a case

Blindfold: lack of prejudice/equality before the law

PART 2:

The response should indicate that a constitutional government is based on justice, law, or the rule of law and that, to follow the law, individuals need to believe that they will be treated fairly and equally by the justice system. If this is not the case, then concepts of law and justice will be undermined, as will constitutional government itself.

- The values represented result in a stronger judicial system that upholds the law.
- If citizens are to follow the law, they need to believe the justice system treats them fairly.
- Values are important because America is such a diverse society and all groups need to know they will be treated equally by/before the law.
- Citizens would view our government negatively if denied equal justice.

Do Not Accept:

- "Justice is blind," unless linked to the idea of equality before the law or lack of bias/prejudice.

- "Fairness of justice," without further elaboration linking it to equality, lack of bias, or weighing of evidence.

Complete - Student Response

22 Explain in your own words what the blindfold and scales on the figure of justice mean.

Justice does not care who you are is the what the blindfold stands for. The scales represent, that justice will be fair and even in her ruling.

Give one reason why the values represented by the figure are important to American constitutional democracy.

Without an honest and fair judiciary system we will become corrupt and ineffective.

22 Explain in your own words what the blindfold and scales on the figure of justice mean.

The blindfold represents that no partiality will be shown in the eyes of justice. The scales represent that every case will present both sides and the scales (justice) will have the final say to who wins.

Give one reason why the values represented by the figure are important to American constitutional democracy.

These values are important because people need to know that they will be treated fairly and equally in a court of law.

Acceptable - Student Response

22 Explain in your own words what the blindfold and scales on the figure of justice mean.

The blindfold means that justice is not
prejudiced by race, sex, wealth, or status.

The scales mean that justice weighs all
views in a case before rendering a decision.

Give one reason why the values represented by the figure are important to American constitutional democracy.

A major purpose of our democracy is
to provide fair justice to all people.

- 22 Explain in your own words what the blindfold and scales on the figure of justice mean.

Justice is blind to external conditions
such as race, religion, and gender.
She is concerned only with truth,
facts and values which she weighs
upon her scale.

Give one reason why the values represented by the figure are important to American constitutional democracy.

They respect man's inherent dignity
a central reason for our
belief in why men should vote
and participate in the political process.

Partial - Student Response

- 22 Explain in your own words what the blindfold and scales on the figure of justice mean.

Justice has no eyes, and will not
judge you by the color of your skin,
gender, or religious beliefs.

Give one reason why the values represented by the figure are important to American constitutional democracy.

It shows the scales of justice
and that is what will control you or
set you free.

- 22 Explain in your own words what the blindfold and scales on the figure of justice mean.

That justice is blind. It does not matter who you are, you will be dealt with accordingly.

Give one reason why the values represented by the figure are important to American constitutional democracy.

It shows the impartiality of justice and how it is dealt with.

Unacceptable - Student Response

- 22 Explain in your own words what the blindfold and scales on the figure of justice mean.

The blindfold mean that justice is blind. The scale is to measure out your punishment, depending on the crime.

Give one reason why the values represented by the figure are important to American constitutional democracy.

If laws are broken and there was no punishment, then the laws would be trivial.

- 22 Explain in your own words what the blindfold and scales on the figure of justice mean.

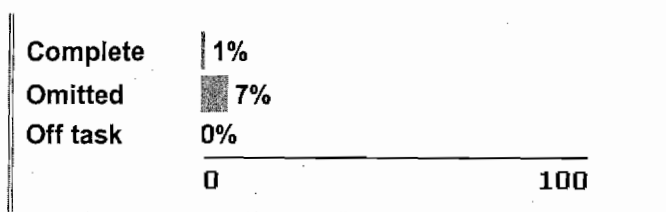
That justice is fair but sometimes blind.

Give one reason why the values represented by the figure are important to American constitutional democracy.

It reminds you that everyone is able to make a mistake and no one is higher than the law.

1998 National Performance Results

Score	Percentage of Students
Unacceptable	40%
Partial	43%
Acceptable	9%



Note:

- These results are for public and nonpublic school students.
- Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

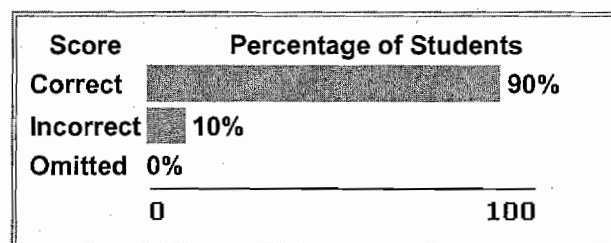
Content Area: *What Are the Foundations of the American Political System?*

Cognitive Domain: *Explaining and Analyzing*

Question 23**Key**

23. Imagine that Congress is considering severe cutbacks in the Social Security program. Which of the following national interest groups would be most concerned about and opposed to such a policy?

- ▶ A) Mothers Against Drunk Drivers
B) American Association of Retired Persons
C) National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
D) American Bar Association

1998 National Performance Results**Note:**

- These results are for public and nonpublic school students.
- Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

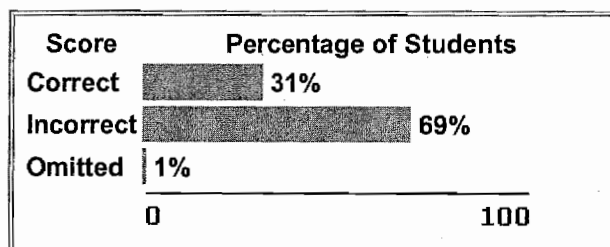
Content Area: *What Are the Roles of Citizens in American Democracy?*

Cognitive Domain: *Identifying/Describing*

Question 24**Key**

24. What happens to most of the bills introduced in the House of Representatives?

- A) They become laws.
B) They are passed but then vetoed by the President.
C) They are passed by the House but not by the Senate.
D) They are never sent by committees to the full House.

1998 National Performance Results**Note:**

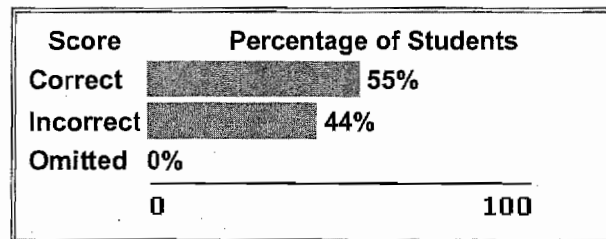
- These results are for public and nonpublic school students.
- Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Content Area: *How Does the Government Established by the Constitution Embody the Purposes, Values, and Principles of American Democracy?*

Cognitive Domain: *Explaining and Analyzing*

Question 25**Key**

25. At the Constitutional Convention, there was a major debate between large states and small states about representation in the new Congress. This debate was resolved by the Connecticut Compromise, which said that
- A) the number of citizens in a state would determine how many seats that state had in Congress, but slaves and other noncitizens would not be counted for this purpose
- B) Congress would have two houses in which the number of seats a state had in each house was based on its population
- C) Congress would have two houses, one in which state representation was based on population and one in which all states had equal representation
- D) Congress would be made up of two houses in which all states had an equal number of representatives in each house

1998 National Performance Results**Note:**

- These results are for public and nonpublic school students.
- Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

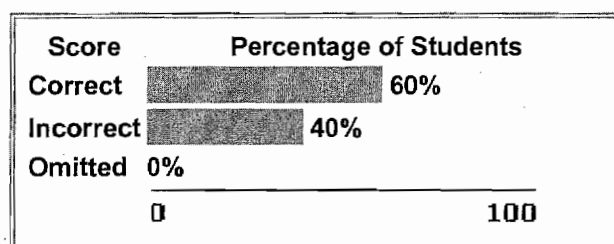
Content Area: *What Are the Foundations of the American Political System?*

Cognitive Domain: *Identifying/Describing*

Question 26**Key**

26. Imagine that the decision has been made to locate the landfill at the site near the school. What would be one of the first actions students could legally take to protest this decision and try to have the landfill placed in another location?

- ▶ A) Appear before the town council to request that the landfill be placed elsewhere.
B) Encourage parents to refuse to pay federal income taxes.
C) Petition international environmental organizations so that they can help move the landfill elsewhere.
D) Refuse to go to school until the decision is changed.

1998 National Performance Results**Note:**

- These results are for public and nonpublic school students.
- Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.



Content Area: *What Are the Roles of Citizens in American Democracy?*

Cognitive Domain: *Evaluating, Taking, and Defending a Position*

Question 27**Key**

27. The federal government would likely become involved in the decision about where to locate the landfill if the landfill threatened to
- ▶ A) lower the value of property in surrounding areas
B) cause the quality of the reservoir water to fall below the standards set by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)
C) interfere with the local tourist trade
D) lead to the recall of members of the town and state governments

1998 National Performance Results

Score	Percentage of Students	
Correct		73%
Incorrect		27%
Omitted	0%	
	0	100

Note:

- These results are for public and nonpublic school students.
- Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

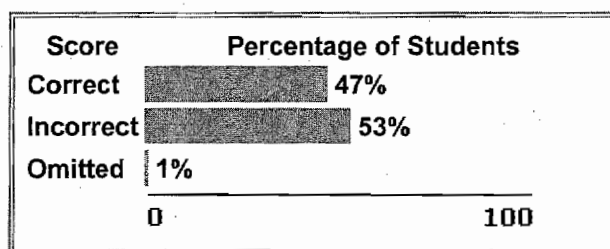
Content Area: *How Does the Government Established by the Constitution Embody the Purposes, Values, and Principles of American Democracy?*

Cognitive Domain: *Explaining and Analyzing*

Question 28**Key**

28. The state government would be most likely to become involved in the decision about where to locate the landfill if developers tried to put the landfill on a site that

- A) was near an army base within the state
- B) created conflicts among the citizens of the town
- C) was near a town park
- D) was likely to affect agriculture in other counties in the state

1998 National Performance Results**Note:**

- These results are for public and nonpublic school students.
- Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Content Area: *How Does the Government Established by the Constitution Embodify the Purposes, Values, and Principles of American Democracy?*

Cognitive Domain: *Explaining and Analyzing*

Question 29

Scoring Guide

Score & Description
Complete Response identifies site A or C, and backs up the choice with an explanation of why it is the most likely to be chosen. OR Response identifies one thing wrong with each of the other sites.
Partial Response identifies a site and gives an explanation as to why it is the most likely to be chosen, but the explanation is vague or weak. For example, "Site C is the least dangerous."
Unacceptable Response may identify a site, but gives no explanation as to why it is most likely to be chosen. Site B is NOT an acceptable site choice.

Credited responses could include:

SITE A:

- Because of the factory, this area is already polluted.
- Factories already produce waste; landfill convenient to it.
- The land may be cheaper than other sites.
- Location at either Site B or C would lower homeowners' property values.
- Site A, by being the farthest from the residential zone and the reservoir's drainage area, would have the least effect on the water system.
- This site is not near where people live or near recreational activities, so people won't object.

SITE C:

- Because it is near a major road, people wouldn't want to build houses here anyway.
- Proximity to a major road is convenient for trucks delivering loads to the landfill.
- This site is far enough from developed areas that people won't be bothered by the smell, etc.
- Because of existing undeveloped land, environmental issues might arise such as wildlife prairie grass, etc.

Complete - Student Response

- 29 Is the landfill most likely to be located at site A, B, or C? Explain why it is more likely to be located at that site than at the other two sites.

A, because it would be closer to the
industries which produce a lot of waste.
instead near people's homes

- 29 Is the landfill most likely to be located at site A, B, or C? Explain why it is more likely to be located at that site than at the other two sites.

The landfill is likely to be located at site A because factories
already produce a lot of garbage. It should not be by a school
because it could be a health hazard to kids, and it should not
be in undeveloped land because that would lower the property
value and make it impossible to develop the land in the future.

Partial - Student Response

- 29 Is the landfill most likely to be located at site A, B, or C? Explain why it is more likely to be located at that site than at the other two sites.

THE LANDFILL IS MOST LIKELY TO BE LOCATED AT
SITE A BECAUSE FACTORIES ARE AROUND THERE.
THE FACTORIES AND THE LANDFILL GO HAND AND
HAND

- 29 Is the landfill most likely to be located at site A, B, or C? Explain why it is more likely to be located at that site than at the other two sites.

The landfill should be located in
site C. The landfill should be
in site C because there it will
not effect as many people as if
it had been placed in site A or B.

Unacceptable - Student Response

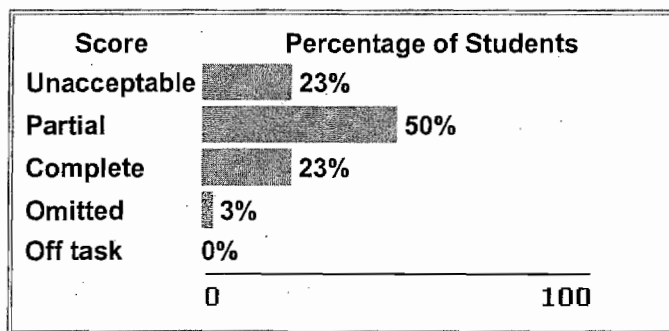
- 29 Is the landfill most likely to be located at site A, B, or C? Explain why it is more likely to be located at that site than at the other two sites.

It would most likely be at site B
Site B is the only site that is undeveloped
land that is not near residential
area.

- 29 Is the landfill most likely to be located at site A, B, or C? Explain why it is more likely to be located at that site than at the other two sites.

Plenty of room, there aren't any people
around or any drinking water.

1998 National Performance Results



Note:

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- Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

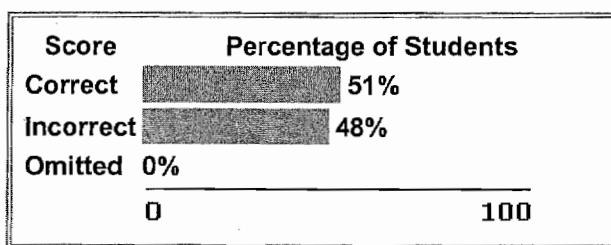
Content Area: *How Does the Government Established by the Constitution Embody the Purposes, Values, and Principles of American Democracy?*

Cognitive Domain: *Evaluating, Taking, and Defending a Position*

Question 30**Key**

30. Which of the following would be true for someone who wanted to open a small business in zone III?

- A) She could open the business whenever she raised the necessary funds.
B) She would need to get permission from the federal government.
C) She would need to get a zoning variance from the town planning board.
D) She would need to have a petition signed by a majority of community members in favor of the business.

1998 National Performance Results

Note:

- These results are for public and nonpublic school students.
- Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

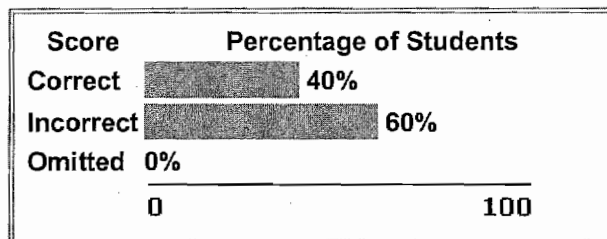
Content Area: *How Does the Government Established by the Constitution Embody the Purposes, Values, and Principles of American Democracy?*

Cognitive Domain: *Evaluating, Taking, and Defending a Position*

Question 31**Key**

31. The segregated educational system described in the decision was the result of

- ▶ A) state laws
B) federal laws
C) federal regulations
D) executive orders

1998 National Performance Results

Note:

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- Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

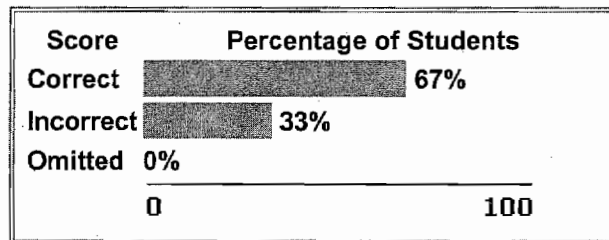
Content Area: *How Does the Government Established by the Constitution Embodify the Purposes, Values, and Principles of American Democracy?*

Cognitive Domain: *Identifying/Describing*

Question 32**Key**

32. The second paragraph discusses an earlier court decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson*. You can conclude that the Plessy decision had allowed

- ▶ A) districts to use busing to integrate schools
B) schools to have "separate but equal" educational facilities
C) free public education for all citizens
D) new federal support to finance education for minority students

1998 National Performance Results**Note:**

- These results are for public and nonpublic school students.
- Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

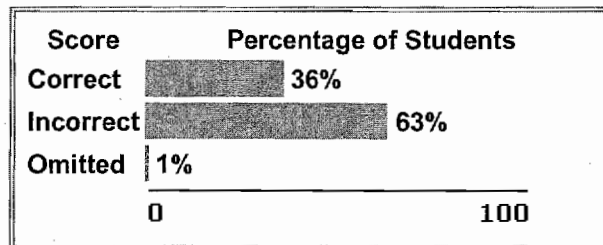
Content Area: *How Does the Government Established by the Constitution Embody the Purposes, Values, and Principles of American Democracy?*

Cognitive Domain: *Explaining and Analyzing*

Question 33**Key**

33. Which part of the United States Constitution did the Court most likely use to support its decision?

- A) Article 4
- B) The Tenth Amendment
- C) The Thirteenth Amendment
- ▶ D) The Fourteenth Amendment

1998 National Performance Results**Note:**

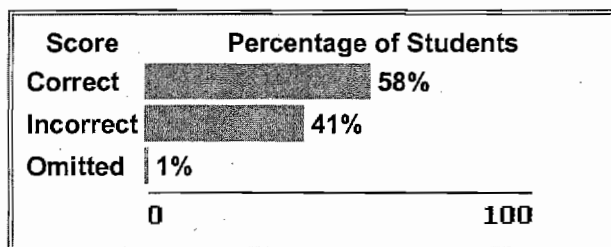
- These results are for public and nonpublic school students.
- Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Content Area: *How Does the Government Established by the Constitution Embody the Purposes, Values, and Principles of American Democracy?*

Cognitive Domain: *Identifying/Describing*

Question 34**Key**

34. How did the decision affect the relationship between the federal government and state and local governments?
- ▶ A) The federal government exerted greater influence in a policy area that had been dominated by states and municipalities.
- B) The federal government began directly determining what would be taught in public classrooms.
- C) State governments were restricted in their ability to mandate the teaching of religion in public schools.
- D) State and local governments became less dependent on federal funding for education.

1998 National Performance Results**Note:**

- These results are for public and nonpublic school students.
- Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

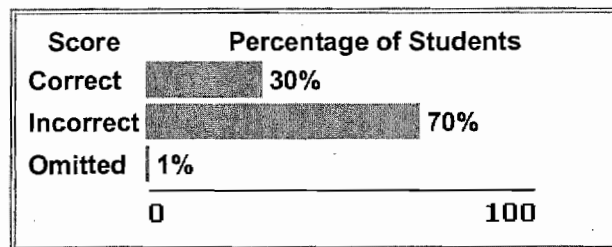
Content Area: *How Does the Government Established by the Constitution Embody the Purposes, Values, and Principles of American Democracy?*

Cognitive Domain: *Explaining and Analyzing*

Question 35**Key**

35. Which aspect of the American system of government shows one of the limits on the power of majorities discussed above?

- ▶ A) The ability of Congress to override presidential vetoes
B) The Supreme Court's power to overturn unconstitutional laws
C) The right of Congress to impeach Presidents and federal judges
D) The ability of people in many states to vote public initiatives into law

1998 National Performance Results**Note:**

- These results are for public and nonpublic school students.
- Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.



Content Area: *What Are the Foundations of the American Political System?*
Cognitive Domain: *Explaining and Analyzing*

Question 36**Key**

36. The framers of the Constitution wanted to limit the power of majorities in order to

- A) encourage the growth of political parties
- B) ensure that state governments would remain weak
- C) enable the government to act quickly in times of crisis
- ▶ D) protect the rights of individuals and minorities

1998 National Performance Results

Score	Percentage of Students	
Correct		72%
Incorrect		28%
Omitted	0%	
	0	100

Note:

- These results are for public and nonpublic school students.
- Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

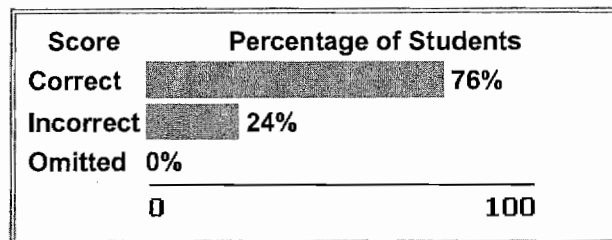
Content Area: *What Are the Foundations of the American Political System?*

Cognitive Domain: *Explaining and Analyzing*

Question 37**Key**

37. The two documents show a common concern for

- A) free speech
B) economic rights
C) individual rights
D) group rights

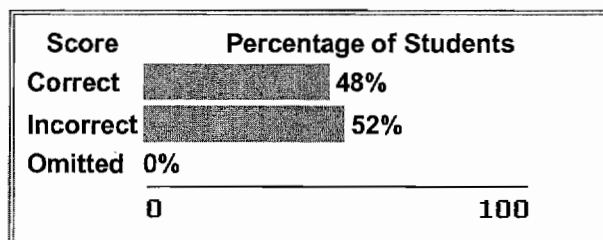
1998 National Performance Results**Note:**

- These results are for public and nonpublic school students.
- Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Content Area: *What is the Relationship of the United States to Other Nations and to World Affairs?*
Cognitive Domain: *Identifying/Describing*

Question 38**Key**

38. Why have documents such as the United Nations Universal Declaration been opposed by some citizens in the United States?
- ▶ A) Some people fear that international agreements will force the United States to act in ways not consistent with its national interest.
- B) Americans see economic equality as more important than individual liberty.
- C) Some people believe that the government should be free to limit speech and assembly rights where necessary.
- D) Most people do not believe that there are universal human rights.

1998 National Performance Results**Note:**

- These results are for public and nonpublic school students.
- Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Content Area: *What is the Relationship of the United States to Other Nations and to World Affairs?*
Cognitive Domain: *Explaining and Analyzing*

Content Area

What Are Civic Life, Politics, and Government?

Citizens need to understand civic life, politics, government, and civil society so that they can make informed judgments about what government should and should not do, how they are to live their lives together, and how they can support the proper use of authority or combat the abuse of political power.

- *Civic life* is the public life of citizens concerned with affairs of the community and nation as contrasted with private or personal life, which is devoted to the pursuit of private and personal satisfactions.
- *Politics* is a process by which people reach collective decisions that are generally regarded as binding and enforced as common policy.
- *Government* may be described as the formal institutions and processes of a politically organized society with authority to make, enforce, and interpret laws and other binding rules about matters of common interest and concern, such as society's order, security, and prosperity. The term *government* also refers to the group of people, acting in formal political institutions at national, state, and local levels, who exercise decision-making power or enforce laws and regulations. Some parts of government such as Congress, state legislatures, and city councils make laws; other parts, including federal, state, and local agencies such as taxation authorities and police, enforce laws; and still others, such as federal and state courts, interpret laws and rules.
- *Civil society* refers to the complex network of freely formed, voluntary political, social, and economic associations. Among the many nongovernmental actors making up civil society are groups such as parent-teacher, professional, and business associations; labor unions; religious, charitable, and youth organizations; and social and fraternal clubs. A vital civil society is an essential component of a constitutional democracy, because it prevents the abuse or excessive concentration of power by government. The organizations of civil society also "are public laboratories in which citizens learn democracy by doing it."

At the early elementary level, students may begin to understand government and civil society by analogy with the governance of the family and school. As they progress through school, their knowledge and understanding of civic life, politics, and government should increase and deepen.

What Are the Foundations of the American Political System?

The American political system is based upon the values and principles of constitutional democracy expressed in such fundamental American documents as the Declaration of Independence; the U.S. Constitution, including the Bill of Rights; the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom; the *Federalist Papers*; and Antifederalist writings. Other documents that express and elaborate upon the values and principles of the founding documents include the Seneca Falls Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions, Martin Luther King Jr.'s *Letter from Birmingham City Jail*, and landmark U.S. Supreme Court decisions. Such fundamental expressions of American principles and values are important for students to understand for several reasons. First, Americans are a people bound together by the ideals, values, and principles they share rather than by kinship, ethnicity, or religion, which are ties that bind some other nations of the world. Second, Americans' ideals, values, and principles have shaped their political institutions and affected their political processes. Third, the ideals, values, and principles set forth in the nation's core documents are criteria that Americans use to judge the means and ends of government, as well as those of the myriad groups and organizations that are part of civil society. Finally, understanding of fundamental principles provides the basis for a reasoned commitment to the ideals, values, and principles of American constitutional democracy.

The values and principles of American constitutional democracy are sometimes in conflict, and their very meaning and application are often disputed. For example, although most Americans agree that the idea of equality is an important value, they may disagree about what priority it should be given in comparison with another value, such as liberty. And they may disagree on the meaning of equality

when it is applied to a specific situation.

In addition, disparities have always existed between the realities of daily life and the ideals of American constitutional democracy. Citizens should thus be encouraged to consider that while the history of the United States has been marked by continuing attempts to narrow the gap between the nation's ideals and reality, it has also achieved a wide degree of consensus as to what those ideals are and what that reality ought to be. It is on the basis of these ideals that Americans have united in political movements to abolish slavery, extend the voting franchise, remove legal support for segregation, and provide equality of opportunity. Citizens should be familiar with historical and contemporary efforts in which Americans have joined forces to work toward the achievement of their shared ideals.

Americans, however, realize that the United States is not Utopia, nor is a constitutional democracy Utopian. Rather, a constitutional democracy is a way of allowing the competing ideas, values, goals, and interests of people, individually or in groups, to compete with one another in a peaceful manner. A constitutional democracy affords its citizens means of reconciling their differences and their competing visions of truth without resorting to violence or oppression.

Students in the early grades should become acquainted with the basic values and principles that are the foundation of the American political system. Their knowledge and understanding should increase as they progress through middle and high school.

What is the Relationship of the United States to Other Nations and to World Affairs?

The United States does not exist in isolation; it is part of an interconnected world in whose development it has played and continues to play an important role. The American political tradition, including the ideas expressed in the Declaration of Independence, the U.S. Constitution, and the Bill of Rights, has had a profound influence abroad. The nation's democratic ideals and the benefits of its free society have drawn the attention and inspired the hopes of people worldwide. In addition, the United States has exerted extensive economic, technological, and cultural influence on other nations. At the same time, the United States and its citizens have been deeply influenced by the institutions and practices of other countries and the cultures of other peoples.

To make judgments about the role of the United States in the world today and what course American foreign policy should take, citizens need to understand the major elements of international relations and how world affairs affect their own lives and the security and well-being of their communities, states, and nation. They also need to comprehend how commerce, travel, communications, and the international economy bring them into relationships with people everywhere.

In elementary and middle schools, students should acquire basic knowledge of the relationship of the United States to other nations and to world affairs. In senior high school, students should develop a more sophisticated understanding of the behavior of the United States, other nations, and international organizations in the world arena.

What Are the Roles of Citizens in American Democracy?

Citizenship in American constitutional democracy differs from membership in authoritarian or totalitarian regimes. In the United States, each citizen is a full and equal member of a self-governing community and is endowed with fundamental rights and entrusted with responsibilities. Among those responsibilities is seeing that the rights of other individuals are respected. It also is a fundamental responsibility of citizens to see that government serves the purposes for which it was created and that it does not abuse the power that the people have delegated to it. For instance, the Declaration of Independence proclaims the primary purpose of government: "That to secure these Rights [Life,

Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness] governments are instituted among Men." Further, the Preamble of the U.S. Constitution says that the purposes of government are to "establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty." Citizens are responsible for holding their government accountable to these purposes it was created to serve.

Citizens should understand that through their involvement in civic life and in nongovernmental organizations they can help to improve the quality of life in their neighborhoods, communities, and nation. They also should understand that if they want their voices to be heard, they must become active participants in the political process. Although elections, campaigns, and voting are at the center of democratic institutions, citizens should be aware that beyond electoral politics there are many other participatory opportunities available to them. Furthermore, the attainment of individual and public goals and participation in political life tend to go hand in hand. The maintenance and improvement of American constitutional democracy is dependent upon the informed, effective, and responsible participation of its citizens.

How Does the Government Established by the Constitution Embody the Purposes, Values, and Principles of American Democracy?

The system of government established by the Constitution has resulted in limited government and a complex dispersal of powers. As a result, Americans live under the jurisdiction of national, state, and local governments, all of whose powers and responsibilities are separated and shared among different branches and agencies. Each of these governments-national, state, and local-affects directly the daily lives of all Americans: their security, their opportunities, their standard of living, and the taxes they pay.

The Framers of the Constitution saw this complex system as a principal means of limiting the power of government. Multiple levels of government provide numerous opportunities for citizens to participate in their own governance. The system also reflects the principle of popular sovereignty, enables citizens to hold their governments accountable, and helps to ensure the protection of the rights of individuals. Citizens who understand the justification for this system of limited, dispersed, and shared power and its design are able to evaluate, monitor, and influence it more effectively.

To understand the impact of the various levels of government on their daily lives, the lives of their communities, and the welfare of the nation as a whole, students need to understand how local, state, and national governments are organized, what they do, and how they interact.

Cognitive Domain

Identifying/Describing

Identifying means to give the meaning or significance of things that are tangible (e.g., one's legislative representative) or intangible (e.g., concepts such as justice). To identify something may involve being able to distinguish it from something else to classify or catalog something with similar items, or, in some cases, to determine its origin.

Describing means to give a verbal or written account of an item's basic attributes or characteristics; describing may refer to tangible or intangible processes, institutions, functions, purposes, or qualities.

Explaining and Analyzing

"Explaining and Analyzing" refer to intellectual skills that also are of importance to the citizen.

Explaining means to identify, describe, clarify, or interpret something. One may explain, for example, the causes of events, the meaning or significance of events and ideas, or the reasons for various acts or positions.

Analyzing means to break something down into its constituent parts in order to clarify its meaning or significance. One may analyze, for example, the causes of events, the components and consequences of ideas, or social, political, or economic processes and institutions.

Evaluating, Taking, and Defending a Position

"Evaluating, Taking, and Defending Positions" refer to skills required of citizens for assessing issues on the public agenda, making judgments about issues, and discussing their assessments with others in public or private.

Evaluating positions means to use criteria or standards to make judgments about the strengths and weaknesses of positions on issues, goals promoted by the position, or means advocated to attain those goals.

Taking a position refers to using criteria or standards to arrive at a position one can support by selecting from existing positions or creating a novel one.

Defending a position refers to advancing arguments and offering evidence in favor of one's position and responding to or taking into account arguments opposed to one's position.

	Description	Grade	Type	Difficulty
1	Understands Locke Quote	12th	Multiple Choice	Medium
2	Can Explain Advantages of American System of Gov't.	12th	Short Constructed Response	Medium
3	Can Summarize Learned Hand Quote	12th	Multiple Choice	Easy
4	Can Interpret Learned Hand Quote	12th	Multiple Choice	Medium
5	Can Infer Who Drew District Map	12th	Multiple Choice	Medium
6	Understands Relationship Between District Map and Census	12th	Multiple Choice	Medium
7	Can Infer Zone 2 on Map is Urban	12th	Multiple Choice	Medium
8	Understands Irregular Shapes on District Map	12th	Short Constructed Response	Medium
9	Can Describe Role of State Gov't.	12th	Short Constructed Response	Medium
10	Understands Local, State and Federal Employee Chart	12th	Multiple Choice	Easy
11	Understands Role of President in Foreign Policy	12th	Multiple Choice	Medium
12	Can Explain What Influences Voter Preference	12th	Short Constructed Response	Easy
13	Understands Effect of Decision in Lochner Case	12th	Multiple Choice	Hard
14	Understands How Attitudes Have Changed Since Lochner Case	12th	Multiple Choice	Easy
15	Understands Majority Decision in Lochner Case	12th	Multiple Choice	Hard
16	Understands Difference of Opinions in Lochner Case	12th	Multiple Choice	Hard
17	Understands Relationship of Parties to Proportional Representation System	12th	Multiple Choice	Medium
18	Can identify benefit of proportional representational system	12th	Multiple Choice	Hard
19	Can Identify Why Single Member Better Than Proportional Representation.	12th	Multiple Choice	Hard
20	Understands Purpose of Bill of Rights	12th	Multiple Choice	Easy
21	Can Explain How Democracy Benefits from Citizen Participation	12th	Short Constructed Response	Hard
22	Can Explain Role of Justice in American Gov't.	12th	Extended Constructed Response	Hard
23	Can Identify Interest Group	12th	Multiple Choice	Easy
24	Knows What Happens to Bills	12th	Multiple Choice	Hard
25	Knows Connecticut Compromise	12th	Multiple Choice	Medium
26	Understands Landfill Scenario	12th	Multiple Choice	Medium
27	Understands Federal Gov't. Role in Landfill Scenario	12th	Multiple Choice	Easy

28	Understands State Gov't. Role in Landfill Scenario	12th	Multiple Choice	Medium
29	Can Explain Site Location in Landfill Scenario	12th	Short Constructed Response	Medium
30	Zoning Rules	12th	Multiple Choice	Medium
31	Understands Issue in Brown v. Board of Ed.	12th	Multiple Choice	Medium
32	Understands Relation of Plessy to Brown v. Board of Ed.	12th	Multiple Choice	Easy
33	Understands Role of 14th Amendment in Brown v. Board of Ed.	12th	Multiple Choice	Hard
34	Understands State-Federal Relations re: Brown v. Board of Ed.	12th	Multiple Choice	Medium
35	Understand that Supreme Court Limits Power of Majorities	12th	Multiple Choice	Hard
36	Understands Why Constitution Limits Power of Majorities	12th	Multiple Choice	Easy
37	Understands Relationship Between 1st. Amendment and UN Document	12th	Multiple Choice	Easy
38	Understands Why UN Document is Opposed	12th	Multiple Choice	Medium